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# Arms Control      Disarmament

A QUARTERLY  
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WITH ABSTRACTS  
AND ANNOTATIONS

VOLUME 4, NUMBER 4

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# Arms Control & Disarmament

A QUARTERLY BIBLIOGRAPHY WITH  
ABSTRACTS AND ANNOTATIONS



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## PREFACE

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## I. THE INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT

### A. BASIC FACTORS IN WORLD POLITICS

1382

American Anthropological Association. WAR: THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF ARMED CONFLICT AND AGGRESSION. Edited by Morton Fried, Marvin Harris and Robert Murphy. Garden City, N. Y., Published for the American Museum of Natural History [by] the Natural History Press, 1968. xxii, 262 p. HM36.5.A25

"Contains the expanded text of prepared papers and comments . . . delivered at a symposium held on November 30, 1967, in Washington, D. C., during the Sixty-sixth Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association."

Partial contents. --The effects of warfare on the biology of the human species, by Frank B. Livingstone. --The biological consequences of war, by Frederick P. Thieme. --Human aggression: the need for a species-specific framework, by Ralph L. Holloway, Jr. --The contribution of primate studies to the understanding of war, by C. R. Carpenter. --War and disease: an anthropological perspective, by Alexander Alland, Jr. --The direct and indirect biological costs of war, by Benjamin L. Paul. --Hypotheses about functions of war, by Andrew P. Vayda. --War and the state, by Alexander Lesser. --Yanomamo social organization and warfare, by Napoleon A. Chagnon. --War and our contemporary ancestors, by Elman Service. --Psychological preparations for war, by Anthony F. C. Wallace. --War and the dissociated personality, by Stanley Diamond. --War and the draft, by Sol Tax. --The draft and the United States Congress, by E. Adamson Hoebel. --Alternatives to war, by Margaret Mead. --Decision making on war and peace, by Seymour Melman. --Bibliography. --Index.

An examination of the scientific aspects of war and its causes "by anthropologists of diverse political opinions, specialties, and theoretical orientations." Livingstone's article opens the discussion on a controversial note by contending that the genetic consequences of nonnuclear warfare are minimal. It is followed by Holloway's thesis that a specific framework must be utilized to analyze man's aggressive drives since the study of lower animals is irrelevant to understanding the aggressiveness of humans. In the following section Alland goes beyond the genetic implications of warfare to explore the effect of war on all facets of public health. The next two parts deal with general and specific models of the functional role of warfare. The final three sections begin with an attempt to explain the causes of war and conclude with discussions of the moral problems of war in the 20th century.

1383

Auerbach, Ludwig. [WAR AND PEACE; SOME DEFENSE-SOCIOLOGICAL INQUIRIES IN POLAND AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA] Krieg und Frieden; zu einigen wehrsoziologischen Untersuchungen in Polen und der Tschechoslowakei. Osteuropa, v. 18, Apr. 1968: 298-310. DRI.O8, v. 18

Relates the results of public opinion research on international developments and the danger of war. Of the Poles surveyed, 51 percent believe nuclear war would be the greatest threat to mankind and would bring total destruction of their country. Sixty-seven percent of the Czechoslovaks believe there will never be an all-out confrontation between capitalists and socialism, 81 percent think that nuclear weapons will be used should a world war break out, and 80 percent contend there will be no victor in such a war.

1384

Bailey, Norman A. TOWARD A PRAXEOLOGICAL THEORY OF CONFLICT. Orbis, v. 11, winter 1968: 1001-1112. D639.O84, v. 11

Because human action lacks uniformity and regularity, neither physical nor biological models provide a suitable framework for its study. What then can replace probabilistic behaviorism as a basis for a truly prescriptive, operational theory of the political aspects of human action? The answer may be praxeology, the science of effective action. Because man chooses the most rational and effective methods for attaining his goals, his actions in a particular time and place in history can be determined. These actions constitute the realm of praxeology. Conflict theories can be categorized as nonpraxeological and semipraxeological. The former deal with the biological-psychological and sociological-anthropological theories and are concerned with the explanation of conflicts and their modification and reduction. Semipraxeological conflict theories consist of systems analysis, games theory, and military strategy. The praxeological sciences--economics and political science--can determine how man must act if he is to act effectively. For praxeology to be effective in conflict study, political action in analyses must be integrated as economics has been. "If political science is to achieve the theoretical level of economics it should be based on the rigorous abstractions of a 'political man' every bit as partial and artificial as 'economic man.'"

1385

Bernstein, Robert A., and Peter D. Weldon. A STRUCTURAL APPROACH TO THE ANALYSIS OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. Journal of conflict resolution, v. 12, June 1968: 159-181. illus.

JX1901.J6, v. 12

Appendices: p. 177-181.

"References": p. 175-176.

Using variables previously operationalized at other systems levels, the authors attempt to construct a scheme applicable to the analysis of international relations. The variables differentiation, articulation, and relative centrality are examined along four subdimensions of international relations: diplomacy, trade, international organizations, and military alliances. Guttman scaling techniques and simple matrix analysis are employed. Relationships between the variables are explored and several hypotheses are suggested: for example, that if a nation is highly differentiated

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internally it will tend to be highly differentiated externally; that if a nation is highly differentiated it will be highly articulated and more relatively central; and that such a nation will tend to articulate with nations at a similar level of differentiation. (Abstract supplied)

1386

Berzins, Alfreda. **THE TWO FACES OF CO-EXISTENCE.** New York, R. Speller [1967] 336 p. DK63.3. B52

Contents. --Introduction. --Lenin and capitalism. --Peace and Soviet policy. --Friendship and non-aggression pacts: the tools of Soviet imperialist policy. --The tragedy of Poland. --The Soviet attack on Finland. --The Soviet Union occupies the Baltic states. --Vishinsky in Bucharest. --Red terror over Bulgaria. --The transformation of Hungary. --The disillusionment of Mr. Benes. --The two faces of co-existence. --Communist strategy and tactics according to Stalin. --Soviet policy of co-existence after Stalin. --Some warning voices. --Conclusion. --Bibliography. --Index.

Examines Lenin's theories of communism and his plan for its gradual implementation. Berzins maintains that communism is not going soft and that its objective has remained the same since Lenin: the destruction of the democracies of the Western World. The West must guard against being duped by liberal trends in the Communist world.

1387

Bienen, Henry, ed. **THE MILITARY INTERVENES; CASE STUDIES IN POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT.** New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1968. xxiii, 176 p. U21.5. B52

Contents. --Preface, by Morris Janowitz. --Introduction, by Henry Bienen. --pt. 1. The initial involvement: Sub-Saharan Africa. The military in Ethiopian politics: capabilities and constraints, by Donald N. Levine. Public order and the military in Africa: mutinies in Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika, by Aristide R. Zolberg. --pt. 2. After the seizure of power: the struggle for stability. Political dominance and political failure: the role of the military in the Republic of Korea, by Jae Souk Sohn. --pt. 3. Institutionalized intervention: Intervention and attrition: the officer corps in the Turkish crisis, by Nur Yalman. Disunity and disorder: factional politics in the Argentine military, by Philip B. Springer. --Index.

Discusses the political role of the military in developing countries. The authors supply evidence to highlight the powerful constraints that operate to narrow the role of the military per se as effective agents of political change.

1388

Camps, Miriam. **IS 'EUROPE' OBSOLETE?** International affairs (London) v. 44, July 1968: 434-445. JX1.153, v. 44

Whether or not a "uniting Western Europe" will have any relevance in the coming years will depend on the purpose of the integration and the major problems of the rest of the 20th century. If the European community is not to become obsolete in the sense of becoming economically subservient to the larger industrial powers, it must develop common economic and political policies that reach far beyond its present or even future objectives. A united Western Europe must make

a positive contribution to a resolution of the German reunification question, and, if it extends beyond a customs union into the wider economic and foreign policy fields, it would have a better chance of reunifying Germany by institutionalizing its economic links with at least some of the East European nations. Given that relations between Eastern and Western Europe will be less strained in the future, during this process of institutionalization Western Europe will probably be able to convince East Germany to "associate" itself with the European community. This association would in effect give Germany many of the practical advantages of reunification. A European defense community, in which each country views the problems of its own security in similar terms, would not immediately supplant NATO but rather pave the way toward more satisfactory arrangements concerning the withdrawal of American forces. A uniting Western Europe will become an essential part of the process of institutionalizing a rational international economic system. As worldwide economic interdependence grows, interactions between the economic and political fields are likely to grow. Therefore, if the United States decides to intervene in other parts of the world "to uphold the law," Europe will eventually be affected; and if it is not able to escape the consequences of American actions, "must it not find a way of affecting the taking of the key decisions to become involved?"

1389

Cleveland, Harlan. **PAX BALLISTICA, THE UNCERTAIN PEACE.** Saturday review, v. 51, June 29, 1968: 11-13. Z1219.826, v. 51

In this nuclear age people "might as well get used to living without the clarities of either unambiguous war or unalloyed peace." As long as the superpowers are engaged in a nuclear standoff, détente is severely limited and cannot be literally translated into a relaxation of cold war tensions. Restraint based on a particular balance of weapons is far from stable. However the strategic stalemate between the superpowers and the suicidal implications of nuclear combat have encouraged international cooperation in many fields and may eventually compel the Russian dogmatists to relinquish their hostile attitudes to the non-Communist world. While the destructive power of modern weapons, the "latency of big-power involvement," and the force of world opinion have made open aggression improbable at any level, indirect aggression still flourishes at the regional level. Wars are now often begun by proxy and fought for limited and indefinite objectives, making them frustrating to fight and difficult to stop. In Vietnam Americans are currently attempting "to demonstrate that aggression does not pay even when it is disguised." Meanwhile, as long as wars-by-infiltration exist and the avoidance of global war depends on the prudence of the nuclear powers, civilization will face an uncertain future.

1390

Conquest, Robert. **THE LIMITS OF DETENTE.** Foreign affairs, v. 46, July 1968: 733-742. D410.F6, v. 46

Throughout its history Russia has revealed a tendency to temper expansionism with temporary withdrawal but has never completely abandoned its quest for world power. Although Russia's current rulers genuinely wish to avoid a nuclear confrontation with the United States, their drive for accommodation with the West is principally "based on a particular balance of weaponry"

# I. THE INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT

and not on good will. Thus the détente is highly tenuous and could be overturned if the West relaxes its vigilance and more dogmatic and militant leaders come to power in the Soviet Union. Both the moderates and the extremists appear to agree that the Soviet Union should pursue a "forward" foreign policy in areas where it is feasible and involves no risk of direct confrontation with the United States. The extremists are willing to take higher risks than the moderate factions but so far have not gotten the upper hand in Europe, Latin America, or Asia. However, they have succeeded in stirring up trouble and anti-American feelings in the turbulent Middle East. By their militant activities in the Middle East and their buildup of arms capabilities, the present Russian leaders have demonstrated their determination to continue traditional Soviet anti-Western policies. As long as Russia remains basically hostile to the non-Communist world there can be no permanent peace based upon mutual cooperation between the two camps. Although the present détente is real, it depends on the firmness of the United States in thwarting the initiatives of the Soviet extremists.

- 1391  
Denton, Frank H., and Warren Phillips. SOME PATTERNS IN THE HISTORY OF VIOLENCE. *Journal of conflict resolution*, v. 12, June 1968: 132-195. illus. JX1901.J6, v. 12

"References": p. 195.

Reports on progress made in describing systematic trends in violence between political groups. The report is in two parts. Part one describes the formulation of an empirical test of two hypotheses: (1) periods of high violence in the international system will be followed by a decrease in the level of violence; and (2) periods of low systematic violence will be followed by an increase in violence. The second part of the paper speculates about several possible reasons for these patterns. The testing of the hypotheses relies upon Quincy Wright's compilation of conflict statistics covering the period 1480-1900. Factor-analytic techniques are employed in order to observe the fluctuations in the amount of conflict over the 420-year period. (Abstract supplied, modified)

- 1392  
Fontaine, André. HAS AMERICA HAD ENOUGH OF EUROPE? *Interplay of European/American affairs*, v. 2, June/July 1968: 6-10. P&GP RR

Although there was a time when the interests of Europe and the United States coincided, the Vietnam War, anti-French sentiment, and German disillusionment have separated the two continents to the point where not a single European government has sent soldiers to Vietnam to fight on the American side. For most of its history America has opted to stay out of Europe's affairs in the puritanical belief that Europeans were libertine and prone to endless wars; but when it defended Europe against Fascism and promoted European unity, "It went against the immemorial tradition of 'divide and rule,' and it took the risk of raising up a dangerous rival to its own political leadership and to its economy." Despite the chasm that is developing within the Atlantic alliance (an inevitable consequence, since alliances do not survive their successes), it would be unrealistic to deny the necessity for a united Europe. A disunited Europe would serve only to create another power vacuum that would lead to disorder and

instability. A strong Europe is needed that will be able to deter Russia or a too-powerful Germany without the presence of American troops.

- 1393  
Gahagan, James P., and James T. Tedeschi. STRATEGY AND THE CREDIBILITY OF PROMISES IN THE PRISONER'S DILEMMA GAME. *Journal of conflict resolution*, v. 12, June 1968: 224-234. illus. JX1901.J6, v. 12

"References": p. 234.

Seventy-two subjects played a Prisoner's Dilemma game against a "dummy" who played either a 50 percent or a 75 percent cooperative strategy on a pre-planned and random basis over 110 iterations of the game. Subjects were in one of three message credibility conditions: a promise to cooperate which was sent by the "dummy" on every tenth trial was kept 90 percent, 60 percent, or 30 percent of the time. Difference in strategies did not affect the strategy selections of the subjects. Subjects who received the most highly credible messages cooperated more often on the message trials, were more willing to reciprocate promises, and displayed more "trust" than did subjects in either of the other two credibility conditions. Strategy x credibility interactions were found on overall cooperative strategy selections, cooperations on the message trials, and "forgiveness." (Abstract supplied)

- 1394  
Guyer, Melvin. RESPONSE-DEPENDENT PARAMETER CHANGES IN THE PRISONER'S DILEMMA GAME. *Behavioral science*, v. 13, May 1968: 205-219. DF1.B4, v. 13

This study represents an extension of the Prisoner's Dilemma game paradigm to include those social interaction situations in which the magnitudes of the payoffs which players receive are "responsive" to the strategy choices which they make. The experiment used eight different sequences of Prisoner's Dilemma games, each containing 25 distinct games. Each sequence was characterized by successive increments or decrements in either the reward, the punishment, or both of these parameters. These parameter changes were made to be contingent upon the responses of the players. The most interesting results obtained in this study relate to the effects of changes in the punishment parameter of the Prisoner's Dilemma game. It was found that when reward is either moderate and fixed or increasing and large, a decreasing severity of punishment produced as much cooperative behavior as did an increasing severity of punishment. A phenomenon which is peculiar to dynamic games was also identified in this study. This has been termed "pseudocooperation" and refers to jointly competitive strategy choices made by the subjects, the outcomes of which are interpreted as being mutually beneficial rather than mutually punishing. (Abstract supplied)

- 1395  
Hayes, Louis D. THE UTILITY OF THE CONCEPT OF POWER IN THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. *Social science*, v. 43, June 1968: 153-159. III.S55, v. 43

Power is one of the most widely used concepts in the study of international relations. Despite the fact that power has a long history of usage in political philosophy, there is little agreement concerning what the concept actually means. Moreover, considerable difficulty

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is encountered in attempting to measure power. These difficulties are such that the concept of power is of only limited utility as a research tool in studying international phenomena. (Abstract supplied)

1396

Hebling, Hanno. [EVERLASTING PEACE AND TEMPORAL ORDER] Ewiger Friede und zeitliche Ordnung. Schweizer Monatshefte, v. 48, May 1968: 147-158. AP32.S47, v. 48

Compares classical teachings on the problem of permanent peace and world order starting with St. Augustine.

1397

Inozemtsev, I. SOME URGENT PROBLEMS OF EUROPEAN SECURITY. International affairs (Moscow) June 1968: 68-71. DB39.U65, 1968  
Speech given at an international seminar held in Moscow, Apr. 23-25, 1968.

The new U.S. "bridge building" policy indicates that the U.S. policies of disarming communism and liberating the Socialist countries have gone bankrupt, but it does not represent any basic change. It only means that now the imperialists are going to use ideological methods to undermine the unity of the Communist camp and erode communism. To avert this danger the Communist world must intensify its own ideological struggle and use Western overtures to strengthen Socialist positions and accelerate the disintegration of the imperialist camp. The growing independence of the West European countries from the United States is a positive phenomenon, but attempts to turn Western Europe into an anti-Socialist, imperialistic bloc must be checked. While NATO shows symptoms of a profound crisis, its early extinction is not to be counted upon, because the U.S. political and military leaders regard it as a mainstay of their foreign policy. Under these conditions the abolition of the two military blocs will not be easy, and the newly expanding relations between European capitalist and Socialist countries must be carefully studied in order to determine the ways in which this cooperation could best be used to strengthen European security.

1398

Internationale Konferenz zum Studium Mittel- und Osteuropäischen Fragen, 4th, Wiesbaden, 1966. [EASTERN EUROPE AND THE HOPE FOR FREEDOM] Osteuropa und die Hoffnung auf Freiheit. Hrg. von Alfred Domes. Beiträge von Willi Brundert [et al.] [Köln, Verlag Wissenschaft und Politik, 1967] 269 p. DR48.5148 1965

Partial contents. --The United States between Europe and Asia, by Thomas J. Dodd. --Eastern Europe in the world powers' play of forces, by Philip E. Mosely. --The Moscow-Peking conflict and its effects on Eastern Europe, by Wu Chen-ts'ai. --Thoughts on the subject of German reunification and the European middle, by Willi Brundert. --Germany and the Russian policy toward Europe, by Wenzel Jaksch.

Papers read in September 1966 at the fourth international conference on central and East European problems. Dodd stresses the importance of NATO in the struggle for permanent peace in the world. Mosely points out the limitations of the process of disintegration within the Soviet bloc and defines the role of East European nations in present world politics. Wu Chen-ts'ai considers the Sino-Soviet feud instrumental

in increasing tendencies toward polycentrism within the European Soviet bloc. Jaksch sees in the economic potential of Western Europe and in tendencies toward freedom in Eastern Europe building blocks for the establishment of a viable future counterbalance to Soviet power in Europe. Brundert considers German reunification a prerequisite to a durable peace in Europe.

1399

Iriye, Akira. AMERICAN POWER--ASIAN REALITY. Interplay of European/American affairs, v. 2, June/July 1968: 11-14. illus.

P&GP RR

Although some people do not accept the United States as an Asian power, it would be unrealistic to assume that the West and Asia are mutually exclusive entities. In fact Westerners have been as much a part of Asian history and culture as the indigenous populations. From Hay's "open door" policy and Bryan's "nonrecognition doctrine" to Wilson's championing of Chinese sovereignty and Stimson's condemnation of Japan, the United States has proved that it is a major factor in Asian international politics. Indeed World War II was a consequence of America's growing power in Asia and the Japanese belief that this power had to be challenged. Today the United States is in Vietnam as an Asian power; the war is being waged between two Asian nations and not between a great Western power and a small Asian power. To deny this is to ignore America's historical role in Asia.

1400

Katerinich, V. IMPERIALIST MILITARY BLOCS AND PEACE. Soviet military review, no. 7, July 1968: 48-49. P&GP RR

The United States, as the principal force of aggression in the world, has been the chief obstacle to peace. In establishing its military blocs the United States seeks to obtain "extra hands" with which "to secure the mercenary interests of US industrial and financial monopolies." It is also the chief sponsor of the arms race in nations affiliated with these military blocs. The Soviet Union and other Socialist countries have launched an active struggle against U.S. imperialism. And, because the world balance of forces, including Russia's powerful defense strength, is being tipped increasingly in favor of the Socialist world, the Western imperialists are reconsidering the viability of military blocs, as evidenced by France's withdrawal from NATO. Military bloc policies run counter to peace, and only with their disintegration can economic, political, and cultural relations be promoted between countries.

1401

Lichtheim, George. EUROPE & THE UNITED STATES. Commentary, v. 45, May 1968: 48-53. DS101.C63, v. 45

In the belief that Washington's move to stem the outflow of dollars last March indicated its intention to scale down overseas commitments, many West Europeans advocated the need to join together to protect mutual interests and "guard against irrationality in Washington." During the money crisis the European Continental bloc found that through cooperation it could put a good deal of pressure upon the United States. Even Great Britain is beginning to move away from the chaotic "America of Mr. Johnson and his cronies"

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despite the traditions of Anglo-American solidarity and the fact that Britain's chances for entry into the Common Market are still very slight. Many Britons would now gamble on future acceptance into the European economic bloc rather than shut themselves out completely by joining the projected North Atlantic free trade area. Notwithstanding the trend toward an independent Europe, the Atlantic alliance will probably remain intact. While hardly anyone in Western Europe believes that the Soviet Union is still a menace to the Continent, NATO would nevertheless serve as a deterrent if an explosive situation should arise. Furthermore, the existence of NATO decreases the danger that local misunderstandings will accidentally escalate into nuclear exchanges.

1402

Liska, George. *ALLIANCES AND THE THIRD WORLD*. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press [1968] 61 p. (Studies in international affairs, no. 5)  
JX1395, L524

Contents. --The segmented international system: the less developed countries in world affairs. --The balance of power and preponderant power: alliances of small and great powers. --Regional subsystems and subregional unions: alliances of small powers. --Conclusion.

Analyzes the formulation of alliances between great powers, small powers, and unequal powers. Liska includes a definition and gives the function and types of alliances and their effect in a historical context. An alliance is defined as an institutional merger between the politics of the balance of power and the politics of preponderance. He concludes that alliances are here to stay and that neutralism is a tactical adjustment to transient international configurations of power that appear only fleetingly in history.

1403

Liska, George. *NATIONS IN ALLIANCE; THE LIMITS OF INTERDEPENDENCE*. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press [1968] 301 p. JX4005, L5 1968  
Bibliographical footnotes.

Contents. --pt. 1. Patterns and principles: Continuity in alliance politics. Alignments and realignments. The cohesion of alliances. The efficacy of alliances. --pt. 2. Trends and policies: The contemporary international system. The dissolution of alliances. Nonalignment and neutralism. The future of alliances.

An historical and analytic study of the structure and dynamics of alliances. Liska is committed to a "conventional-traditional continuity in international relations." The fundamental principles governing international behavior have not been altered by the technological revolution, trends toward integration, nonalignment and neutralism, and the proliferation of nuclear weapons. The signposts in international relations are still "historical precedents and cardinal principles of politics."

1404

Mazur, Allan. *A NONRATIONAL APPROACH TO THEORIES OF CONFLICT AND COALITIONS*. Journal of conflict resolution, v. 12, June 1968: 196-205. illus.  
JX1901, J6, v. 12  
"References": p. 205.

Current theories of conflict and coalition behavior are generally based on notions of rational decision-

making. But behavior in certain very important conflict situations--notably those involving war, hate, and general intensity of feeling--often cannot accurately be characterized as rational. It is suggested, therefore, that conflict theorists reorient themselves from rational to nonrational, or emotional, models of conflict and coalition behavior. One such nonrational theory may be based on the social-psychological notions of balance and dissonance. Such a theory is presented, demonstrated in some simple interpersonal conflict examples, and then applied to the very complex conflict-coalition system characteristic of tribal segmentary-lineage political systems. Finally, the nonrational model is extended to describe the interrelation of levels of conflict, support, and accompanying affective sentiments. (Abstract supplied)

1405

Meerloo, Joost A. *HUMAN VIOLENCE VERSUS ANIMAL AGGRESSION*. Psychoanalytic review, v. 55, spring 1966: 37-56. BFL P5, v. 55

A vast literature now exists purporting to show that human violence is the expression of a biological instinct shared by man with the lower animals. Few students of man would deny that an innate capacity for violence exists in every human being or that political violence is somehow rooted in that capacity. But this is not the end of the matter. In studying human violence, clinical psychiatrists distinguish between self-assertive, realistic aggression and neurotic pseudoaggression. Self-assertive aggression is a prudent, self-defensive reaction to a real external danger and is proportional to this danger and not easily provoked. Pseudoaggression is an indiscriminate, excessive, and irrational response triggered by minor, often imaginary dangers and motivated by sadomasochistic and suicidal impulses. The former is found in both the lower animals and in man; the latter occurs in humans alone. Man's pseudoaggressiveness is a consequence of his real biological weakness and particularly of his helplessness in infancy but is also stimulated by psychic contamination from the sociocultural milieu. In both cases, it is the human environment and not animal instincts that produce violence and the ultimate psychological evil--the use of the human gift of empathy with antipathetic rather than sympathetic intent. The long period of human maturation is one of developmental plasticity and opens the possibility of man's modifying and controlling for good or evil whatever instincts he may have. The failure to achieve a truly human transformation and control of man's instincts disorganizes his drives and leads to neurotic aggression. "What environmental mistakes have we made? Where did our taming and ritualization of instincts go wrong?" These critical questions remain unanswered.

1406

Midgaard, Knut. *SOME COMMENTS ON THE MEANING AND USE OF GAME THEORY*. Cooperation and conflict, no. 2, 1968: 108-130.  
P&GP RR

Examines the potential utility of game theory for the development of a science of strategic decisionmaking. Game theory as a formal mathematical discipline must be expanded to include extramathematical reasoning if it is to achieve the status of a true decision theory. Consideration of the concept of dialectical transcendence and of Schelling's theory of tacit coordination based on strategic clues suggests that such an expanded theory cannot attain the level of an axiomatic science.

# ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

Nevertheless a broad nonaxiomatic theory would provide the decisionmaker with a method of orienting himself within "a precisely described and well-ordered whole of interesting possibilities," which in turn would enable him to ask the right questions in his situation and provide him with some of the critical tools for answering them. Game theory will become a reality-distorting mirror, however, if it is not used in conjunction with the results of historical and empirical research and experience with practical affairs.

1407

Oldham, C. H. SCIENCE FOR THE MASSES? Far Eastern economic review, v. 60, May 16, 1968: 353-355. illus. HC411. F18, v. 60

Discusses the role of science in China today and the struggle between those who advocate "grassroots technology" and those who favor advanced research. The struggle covers a wide spectrum of scientific and technological policies, from military research to educational policies, and is bound to affect the quality of science and "impose constraints on the type of scientific activity which will be feasible in China's immediate future," although some notable accomplishments, including a major expedition to Mount Everest, have been registered.

1408

Oakamp, Stuart, and Arlene Hartry. A FACTOR-ANALYTIC STUDY OF THE DOUBLE STANDARD IN ATTITUDES TOWARD U.S. AND RUSSIAN ACTIONS. Behavioral science, v. 13, May 1968: 178-186. BFL B4, v. 13

Attitudes of 320 college freshmen toward 50 identical actions taken recently by the U.S. and Soviet Russia were factor analyzed. For both U.S. and Russian items, a similar first factor of warlike or hostile actions emerged, but the three smaller factors for the two nations showed little overlap. As predicted, a double standard was clearly evident, the U.S. actions almost always being rated favorably while the identical Russian actions were usually evaluated unfavorably. The double standard was most extreme for warlike and competitive actions, relatively small for conciliatory behavior, and almost absent on items involving free dissemination of information. A two-sided presentation of information produced more neutral attitudes, particularly less favorable attitudes toward U.S. warlike actions and disapproving actions toward other nations. (Abstract supplied)

1409

Petersen, Ib D. AN ECOLOGICAL MODEL FOR THE ANALYSIS OF POWER. Cooperation and conflict, no. 2, 1968: 131-147. P&GP RR

An ecological approach to the study of power. Current theory conceives of power as a kind of influence that one actor in a social relationship exerts directly upon another. Petersen proposes that this simple linear interaction scheme be replaced by an ecological model that stresses the relationship of the actor to his environment and the changes that occur in it. With this approach, Petersen hopes to simplify and broaden the power concept and "establish a principle of distribution of values in a social context."

1410

Radomisl, Michel. LOVE, FRIENDSHIP AND AIM-INHIBITED AGGRESSION. Psychoanalytic review, v. 55, spring 1968: 57-61. BFL P5, v. 55

Concurs with the thesis advanced by Konrad Lorenz in his book *On Aggression* (annotated as item 932 in v. 3, no. 3, of this bibliography) that human aggression is a true instinct shared by man with the lower animals. Radomisl, a psychoanalyst, suggests that for the understanding of some kinds of human relationships the concept of instinctual aggression may be as fundamental as that of sexuality. He is skeptical, however, of Lorenz' recommendations for the control of this instinct, which in its political and military manifestations now endangers the survival of the human species.

1411

Rapoport, Amnon, and Nancy S. Cole. EXPERIMENTAL STUDIES OF INTERDEPENDENT MIXED-MOTIVE GAMES. Behavioral science, v. 13, May 1968: 189-204. BFL B4, v. 13

A multistage Prisoner's Dilemma (MPD) game is presented as a paradigm for a special class of interdependent mixed-motive conflicts. The MPD game is composed of several PD subgames (conflicts) which are interconnected in the sense that each joint decision determines, in addition to the payoff for each player, the next subgame (conflict) to be played. Several experiments are reported, using both male and female players. The results show that players are aware of the delicate strategic considerations involved in the game and are affected by the strategy employed by the other player. When the game is perceived as an individual decision task, the percentage of cooperative behavior increases. A normative model for the MPD game is presented. Its failure to account for the observed results is discussed briefly. (Abstract supplied)

1412

Sidorsky, Raymond C. PREDICTING THE DECISION BEHAVIOR OF A KNOWLEDGEABLE OPPONENT. Human factors, v. 9, Dec. 1967: 541-554. T58, A2H8, v. 9

Twenty-four subjects were required to make Anticipation type decisions in a simulated tactical situation. On each trial, the tactical situation required a choice between two targets which could be of the same or different value. The targets also varied from trial to trial with regard to their vulnerability to attack. The subjects participated in pairs--one as an attacker, the other as defender. Despite sizable discrepancies in the mix of strategies employed in particular cases, the patterns of the subjects' responses were similar to those dictated by game theoretic considerations. In general the attackers were better able to predict their opponents' behavior. However, neither group was able to capitalize on the non-optimum behavior of their opponents. (Abstract supplied, modified)

1413

Sulzberger, C. L. A CONVERSATION WITH YUGOSLAVIA'S DJILAS--'WE ARE GOING TOWARD THE DEATH OF ALL ISMS.' New York times magazine, June 9, 1968: 30-31, 110, 112, 114, 116, 119-120. illus. AP2, N6575, 1968

A conversation with Milovan Djilas, the Yugoslav Communist heretic and author of *The New Class* and *Conversations With Stalin*. Djilas now describes himself as a democratic Socialist, a stance not to be confused with either social democracy in the Western sense or Marxism. He predicts the rapid demise of all

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Ideologies, including that "first truly complete ideology," Marxism, and the development of Communist politics into open and democratic societies. He also discusses the present and future role of American technology in world affairs, which he expects to be enormous, and gives a sympathetic appraisal of Mao Tse-tung's current attempts to break the power of the Chinese Party bureaucracy.

1414

Summers, David A. CONFLICT, COMPROMISE, AND BELIEF CHANGE IN A DECISIONMAKING TASK. Journal of conflict resolution, v. 12, June 1968: 215-221. illus. JX1901.J6, v. 12

"References": p. 221.

Interpersonal conflict arising from cognitive differences was studied in decisionmaking dyads. Specifically, subjects holding different beliefs about the determinants of minority status were paired in a task which required that they predict the future status of minority citizens in hypothetical nations. As expected, it was found that the subject's compromise behavior in such a task is substantially affected by interaction goals induced by instructions. Moreover, it was found that (1) the amount of conflict between subjects' initial predictions was inversely related to subsequent compromise; (2) the amount of compromise by one subject was inversely related to the amount of compromise by the other; and (3) the amount of belief change evidenced during the task was directly related to prior public compromise. (Abstract supplied)

1415

U. S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Foreign Relations. THE NATURE OF REVOLUTION. Hearings, Ninetieth Congress, second session. Washington, U. S. Govt. Print. Off., 1968. 200 p.

JC491. U5

Hearings held Feb. 19-Mar. 7, 1968.

Attempts "to develop information about the tendency of revolutions, regardless of their ideological origins, to pass through certain relatively distinct stages" and "to identify the implications of the process in the context of current and future formulation of foreign policy by the United States." The committee heard testimony on the sociology of revolution, American attitudes toward revolution, and the Chinese and Vietnamese revolutions. Most of the testimony suggested that American policymakers do not comprehend basic revolutionary dynamics and hence fail to recognize the limitations that exist on their capacity to influence the course of indigenous revolutionary movements.

1416

U. S. -SOVIET COLLABORATION: NEW CRIMES. Peking review, no. 30, July 26, 1968: 19-20. DS701. P42, 1968

The Soviet renegades have recently stepped up their counter-revolutionary collaboration with the U. S. imperialists. Bowing to the wishes of their imperialist masters, the Soviet revisionist flunkies agreed to inaugurate a direct New York to Moscow flight for American and Russian airliners and have signed a comprehensive cultural agreement that throws the "door wide open to the peddling of 'U. S. civilization.'" The reactionary American Government has gleefully welcomed the Soviet betrayal and lavished praise upon the traitors for their open attitudes to the West. A recent so-

called Soviet fashion show in Washington, D. C., displayed an abundance of Western bourgeois styles, which indicates that even in matters of clothing the Soviet renegade clique has "degenerated into a servile tool of U. S. imperialism."

## B. FOREIGN POLICIES

1417

ANGLO-AMERICAN DISINTEGRATION [editorial] Round table, the Commonwealth quarterly, no. 230, Apr. 1968: 111-115. AP4. R6, 1968

The vast American commitments in the world are based on the assumption that "peace can only be kept by standing ready to meet challenge." This assumption has been put into question by the Vietnam War. There the United States--discharging a minor commitment--ran into serious trouble not because it had no business in Asia but because it looked for a purely military solution to politico-military problems. A Communist insurgency is aimed at the civil society and can only be defeated by consolidation of this society and protection of political order. The United States tried to project power and failed to develop the art of "nation building." It did not meet the destruction imposed on the Vietnam society by the Vietcong with reconstruction but actually shared the Vietcong's work of destruction. It tried too late to establish continuous relationships with the Vietnamese. The British Commonwealth realized long ago that such relationships are more important in international life than formal treaty arrangements. But British interests outside Europe are declining, and Great Britain, whose value as a principal ally has not been duly recognized by the United States, is turning toward Europe. Thus the United States must face the situation alone. Either the isolationists and the timid in the United States will dominate American policy and idle until the forces of disintegration become intolerable, or a strong President will rebuild the alliances and reassess the values of the American-led world order. If America chooses the latter way, British policy is likely to respond.

1418

Brogan, Denis. THE ILLUSION OF AMERICAN OMNIPOTENCE--RECONSIDERED. In American Academy of Arts and Sciences. Bulletin, v. 25, Mar. 1968: 2-10. AS36. A48516, v. 25

Summary of an address to the February Stated Meeting of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

Suggests that misconceptions underly America's response to its role as a world power and seeks to determine the true nature of U. S. influence and its limitations in the world today. Brogan first examines the historical roots of the American belief that the United States is omnipotent in world affairs and then describes those events occurring since World War II that should have made it evident that even U. S. power is limited in what it can accomplish. He suggests that America's fruitless involvement in Vietnam and its inability to understand Gaullism both stem from this illusion that U. S. power is unlimited and appeals to Americans to get rid of their false notions and return to that earlier form of American optimism based on hard work and spiritual commitment.

1419

Brzezinski, Zbigniew. THE FADING ALLIANCE. Interplay of European/American affairs, v. 1, May 1968: 18-19. P&GP RR

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The strain in U.S.-European relations does not derive from a divisive European nationalism but "reflects some basic changes in the international situation and in historical processes in general." America is in the midst of transition to a technetronic society, the Atlantic alliance is fading, and Asia is becoming the politico-military focal point of America's foreign policy at a time when the Russian threat to Western Europe is rapidly diminishing. The emergence of a technological society is undermining the once close industrial and cultural ties between the two continents. Despite these changes the Atlantic alliance can be revived. A new security system must be formed to include Eastern Europe and Russia, the technology gap must be closed through common efforts in such fields as space and education, and a common defense effort must be launched that would include a European ABM system and long-range striking forces possessing global mobility. However, even these efforts will not mollify the fundamental disparity between America's and Europe's international political objectives.

1420

Castro, Josué de, and Maurice Guenter. **MANIFESTO FOR THE THIRD WORLD.** Cross currents, v. 18, winter 1968: 1-10. BRL C6978, v. 18

Calls for a major worldwide cooperative effort to solve the economic problems of the underdeveloped nations. The authors criticize current aid programs as contradictory, wasteful, and inadequate and point out that inequities in international trade more than offset the contributions made to backward nations through foreign aid. They indict the leaders of the Third World itself for their misuse of economic resources, failure to carry out needed reforms, emphasis on prestige, display, and bureaucracy, and lack of creative imagination and initiative. Only through regional organizations (preferably on a continental scale), the global pooling of intellectual resources, and the restructuring of trade relations between advanced and backward countries can the Third World solve the economic problems that confront it.

1421

Congressional Quarterly Service, Washington, D.C. **CHINA AND U.S. FAR EAST POLICY, 1945-1967.** Washington [1967] 338 p. illus. (CQ background) E183.8.C5C72 1967b

Bibliographies: p. 222.

Partial contents. --China and the West. --Congress and U.S. Far East policy. --'China lobbies' on both sides. --Leading figures in U.S.-Far East developments. --Index.

Discusses U.S. foreign policy toward Asia and includes a chronology of events on U.S.-Far Eastern affairs.

1422

Evans, Medford Stanton. **THE POLITICS OF SURRENDER.** New York, Devin-Adair Co., 1966. 588 p. E840.E9

Bibliographical references included in "Notes" (p. [533]-559).

Partial contents. --Introduction. The problem: The danger is internal. The face of the enemy. --pt. 1. What liberals think: The view from the top. The Rostow line. The Fulbright doctrine. The liberal

papers. The Phoenix papers. --pt. 2. What liberals do: The war for men's minds. The United Nations. Aiding the enemy. East-West trade. Cultural exchanges. --pt. 3. The disarmament lobby: Is there a stalemate? The nuclear terror. The great reversal. The disarmament lobby. Easing Soviet anxieties. A realistic plan. --pt. 4. The return of the IPR: Kennedy was right. The allies return. The IPR strategy. Encore in Laos. Vie. Nam: the turn of the screw. --pt. 5. New worlds to lose: Cuba: the Bay of Pigs. Cuba: the missile crisis. The Dominican Republic. War in Katanga. How the other half dies. The double standard. --pt. 6. Telling it the way it isn't: "I got my job through the New York Times." To Russia with love. --Conclusion: The history theory of conspiracy.

Argues that liberal elements in American society have abandoned traditional national interest criteria in formulating foreign policy in favor of "certain abstract ideas about the way the world ought to be in some ideal future." By pursuing policies in line with their idealistic concepts, the liberals have failed to stop the Communist menace and have surrendered "the globe to an enemy whose true character Liberalism refuses to acknowledge." After reviewing the "disasters" of liberal diplomacy during the past two decades Evans suggests policymakers stop fooling themselves and face up to the realities of the cold war by mobilizing America's vast resources to strengthen the free world against Communist aggression.

1423

Flannery, Harry W., and Gerhart H. Seger. **WHICH WAY GERMANY?** New York, Hawthorn Books [1968] 246 p. illus., map, ports. DD257.4.F55

Contents. --Foreword. --Nazism: behind the swastika. --The "good Germans." --Germany's burden of her past. --Berlin, beleaguered isle. --On the other side of the wall. --Is reunification possible? --The Christian Democrats. --Willy Brandt and the Social Democrats. --Erich Mende and the Free Democratic Party. --The world's most free economy. --No Red unions here. --Where Luther talks with Peter. --Cultural life. --Germany and the rest of the world. --Index.

Discusses Germany's future role in the international community and recounts the history of the fall of the Weimar Republic and the rise of Nazism. The authors note that, although the Hitler regime will be a blot on German history for all time, West Germany today is making a valuable contribution to the stability of Western Europe. Consequently, it is unlikely that West Germany will fall victim to the horrors that buried the Weimar Republic.

1424

Gregory, Gene. **SOVIET EYES ON TOKYO.** Far Eastern economic review, v. 60, May 9, 1968: 304-305. HC411.F18, v. 60

An increase in Russian trade, aid, and diplomatic activities in Asia could signify a decisive turning point in the Soviet Union's position in the Far East. Its successful economic and political penetration into Asia is less a result of a more aggressive and realistic policy than "an extraordinary consistency of luck combined with an uncanny ability to profit from the misfortunes and ineptitude of others." Russia's greatest success has been with Japan; trade between the two countries has leaped from \$40 million in 1958 to \$450 million in

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1967. Relations with Tokyo are becoming vital as Great Britain withdraws from Southeast Asia, and Japan is bound to play an important role in any effort to checkmate China. Another reason for the increased trade is that Russia would like to weaken the economic links between Japan and the United States, and, barring sudden Russian intervention in the Vietnam War, one can expect only a gradual strengthening of the Soviet position in Asia.

1425  
Gromyko, Andrei A. ON THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE SOVIET UNION. Daily review, translations from the Soviet press, v. 14, June 28, 1968: pt. 1, [item:] 1, 1-25.

Slav Rm  
Translated from Pravda, June 28, 1968.  
Slav Rm

Reviews Soviet foreign policy in relation to the problems of German reunification, arms control and disarmament, European security, détente, the Middle East, and Vietnam. Gromyko notes that since the end of World War II Russia has taken the lead in the search for viable disarmament measures but that they have been consistently disapproved by the United States and its allies.

1426  
Halasz, Louis. ONLY DOMINOS MAY FALL. Far Eastern economic review, v. 60, June 13, 1968: 560-562.  
HC411.F18, v. 60

Based in part on an address by Arthur Goldberg before the National Press Club and comments by Morton H. Halperin, head of the Pentagon's Policy Planning Office.

The United States will be more discriminating in the future about its overseas involvements. When the Vietnam War ends, it is not likely to undertake similar intervention elsewhere, despite its commitments to some Southeast Asian countries. More likely Washington will seek a modus vivendi with Red China to bring about a relaxation of tensions in that area. If U.S. military involvement becomes necessary, the defense burden will have to be shouldered by the country seeking help. In addition America will stay out of countries that are undergoing internal revolutions and local wars between nations not bound to security agreements with the United States.

1427  
Hirschfeld, Oswald. [SECURITY POLICY AND CALCULATED RISK] Sicherheitspolitik und kalkuliertes Risiko. Wehr und Wirtschaft, v. 12, Apr. 20, 1968: 144-145.  
U3.W38, v. 12

The core of the foreign policy problem of Federal Germany is: security or risk? The governmental big coalition in Bonn is confronted with this question. New advancements in the policy towards the East are--without new agreement formulations with Western countries, the USA included--incomplete solutions. There is no doubt, relaxation is the substance of most profound importance to Federal Germany's foreign policy. It would mean greater flexibility and renunciation of too rigid doctrines which are blocking change in the "status quo." The reformers as well as the conservatives present a number of political formulas which vacillate between European isolationism and Atlantic cooperation, disarmament and establishment of European atomic forces. However, all this will not change the

situation as long as the Eastern and Western power blocs stick to their old policies. (Abstract supplied, modified)

1428  
Hofstadter, Richard. UNCLE SAM HAS CRIED 'UNCLE' BEFORE. New York times magazine, May 19, 1968: 30-31, 121-122, 124-125.  
AP2.N6575, 1968

Vietnam, though a blow to American pride and prestige, is not a defeat. Nevertheless, it is certain to be called such by unreconciled hawks who will make that word an angry rallying cry and source of deep division in U.S. politics. The American people have had a misleading historical experience with warfare. While Europeans have learned to live with minor setbacks and limited successes, the United States has met only victories, and this has led to the illusion of American omnipotence. It is not quite true that the United States has never had to suffer the frustrations of weakness. The Founding Fathers had to endure humiliations from the British, the French, and even the Barbary pirate kingdoms. But the illusion of omnipotence got its start with Jackson's victory in New Orleans, and the 19th century followed with easy successes over weak opponents in the Western Hemisphere. The protection afforded by geography and the British Fleet during this period reinforced the myth of invincibility, and World Wars I and II did nothing to dispel it. It was in Korea that the United States first had to face the reality of stalemate and compromise, but Americans ignored the lessons of that war and blamed the outcome on a sell-out. Vietnam is a more dreadful Korea. This time Americans must not fail to learn that there are no final cures for the world's ills and that the United States is not all-powerful. They must learn that the struggle with the Communist bloc is not a moral crusade and that it cannot be won but only superseded. The ability of Americans to overcome their feelings of guilt and failure about Vietnam and to learn these lessons well will be a true test of their political maturity.

1429  
Humphrey, Hubert H. CONSTRUCTIVE INITIATIVES FOR FREEDOM AND PEACE. In U.S. Dept. of State. Department of State bulletin, v. 58, May 13, 1968: 601-604.  
JX232.A33, v. 58  
Address "before the Overseas Press Club at New York, N. Y., on Apr. 23," 1966.

World War II released the great flood of demands for emancipation now being pressed by underprivileged groups in the United States and throughout the world. The problem is to find ways to satisfy these legitimate aspirations within a framework of domestic and international order. At the present juncture in world affairs, the United States is faced with three major tasks. First, it must continue through its commitments to the United Nations and to regional organizations to do its part in maintaining international security while concurrently exploiting every opportunity to develop closer and more peaceful relations with those states that now threaten the peace. Second, it must find ways to establish effective control over weapons of mass destruction. Third, it must apply its efforts and resources to eradicating the want and misery that still afflict the great majority of mankind. Recent critics of U.S. policy have overemphasized its negative aspects. American power has a positive and essential contribution to make in deterring aggression and in assisting the rest of mankind to achieve its peaceful and constructive goals.

1430

Jaspers, Karl. **FOREIGN POLICY.** In his *The future of Germany*. Translated and edited by E. B. Ashton, with a foreword by Hannah Arendt. Chicago, University of Chicago Press [1967] p. 108-138.  
DD259. J333

Appraises West German foreign policy and outlines the nation's role in today's world. Jaspers advocates recognition by the German Federal Republic of the Polish-German boundary along the Oder-Neisse and contends that it is in the German and European interest to rely on the alliance with the United States. In addition the Federal Republic should "pursue an all-out policy of peace, not just in words but in confidence-inspiring action."

1431

Jessup, John K. **'TENSION BY OTHER MEANS'** [editorial] *Life*, v. 65, July 26, 1968: 32.  
AP2. L547, v. 65.

U.S.-Soviet relations need a new name. The term cold war is no longer used, and détente does not square with the nuclear arms race, the two countries' involvement on opposite sides in Vietnam, and Ulbricht's new pressure on Western traffic with Berlin. Perhaps détente should be translated, as Harlan Cleveland suggests, as "a continuation of tension by other means." For, while areas of agreement are multiplying, differences between the two superpowers, especially in Europe, remain real. The U.S.-Soviet military balance is stable in retrospect only--the fear of a new Russian breakthrough in weapons research is a source of congressional worry "about the adequacy of our own weapons research appropriations" and makes President Johnson proceed cautiously in "arousing great hopes for an early agreement on arms control or a 'missile freeze.'" America's Vietnam involvement has caused the global strategic picture to shift somewhat in Russia's favor, though not in communism's favor. Splits in monolithic communism are now serious in Eastern Europe, but the internal difficulties of Russian communism will probably inhibit an adventurist Soviet foreign strategy, thus vindicating the American policy of containment. Because Soviet imperialism today is implemented by commercial credits, arms sales, and cultural and technical aid agreements rather than conspiracy, the United States finds conducting a diplomacy of "peaceful coexistence" easier and safer against a Russia seeking "status, influence and prosperity" than one whose purpose is fomenting subversion.

1432

Johnson, Lyndon B., Pres. U.S. **A GLOBAL PEACE EFFORT: THE NEED FOR DISARMAMENT.** Vital speeches of the day, v. 34, June 15, 1968: 522-524.  
PN6121. V52, v. 34  
Speech delivered at Glassboro State College, Glassboro, N.J., June 4, 1968.

Urges the American people to be patient in the face of grave world problems and continue to work together to solve these problems. The President emphasizes the difficulty in concluding a durable peace in such troubled areas as Vietnam and the Middle East and points out the importance of building patterns of international cooperation to achieve a lasting peace. He notes that despite the turmoil of the past year, the United States and the Soviet Union have succeeded in negotiating a treaty to ban nuclear weapons from outer

space, a civil air agreement, a new consular treaty, and an agreement to assist astronauts downed in either country. Thus while many areas of disagreement still exist between the superpowers, the recent improvements in relations between the two countries indicate that progress is possible. By developing new programs of cooperation in such areas as biology, under-sea exploration, and satellite communications the United States and the Soviet Union can continue "to bridge the gulf that has separated them for a quarter of a century." The President concludes by requesting his fellow citizens to display fortitude and understanding along the slow and tedious path to world order.

1433

Kiesinger, Kurt G. **REPORT ON THE STATE OF THE NATION IN DIVIDED GERMANY.** In *Germany (Federal Republic) Presse und Informationsamt. Bulletin*, a weekly survey of German affairs, v. 16, Mar. 19, 1968: suppl., 3-8. DD250. A35, v. 16  
Submitted to the Bundestag, Mar. 11, 1968.

Defines in general terms the Federal Republic's policy toward Eastern Europe, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and German reunification. Kiesinger stresses Bonn's efforts toward East-West détente and the importance of mutual renunciation of force by the Federal Republic and East European nations. He points at the identity of interests between America and Western Europe in West European security and European unification. But he rejects the idea of a "united Western Europe within the firm framework of a North Atlantic Imperium" as most likely to perpetuate the division of Germany and Europe and to "increase the danger of a major world conflict." To be really useful in reducing tensions the proposed nuclear nonproliferation treaty must, in the opinion of the Federal Government, "meet the interests of all those who are expected to sign it."

1434

Leifer, Michael. **DE GAULLE AND VIETNAM: A CONCEPTION OF POLITICAL PATHOLOGY.** *International Journal*, v. 23, spring 1968: 221-233.  
D839. I5, v. 23

Two major concerns of De Gaulle's foreign policy converge on the issue of the Vietnam War: his desire to return France to the front rank among the world's powers and his hope of preserving the cultural work of France's colonial past. To these must be added considerations of realpolitik that indicate that there can be no military solution to the war and suggest the need to associate Communist China with any settlement. Despite this, Gaullist Vietnam policy differed little from that of the United States until August 1963, when De Gaulle publicly announced a radical break. One international event explains this sudden about face: the signing of the test ban treaty in April. In De Gaulle's view, this treaty symbolized the predominance of the two superpowers and the wish of the United States to perpetuate French military inferiority. In July 1967, De Gaulle escalated his attack by announcing a doctrine of political pathology which ascribed all the world's major ills to U.S. Vietnam policy. This extreme statement must have been motivated by De Gaulle's realization that time was running out on his program to restore France to its former position in world affairs. The attack also may have been an expression of pique against superior American power. But De Gaulle does seem genuinely fearful that the Vietnam War has created a new climate of violence that increases the

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danger of general war. This view deserves respect even though the irascibility and vindictiveness of its author makes this difficult.

1435

Lentin, Albert P. [THE GENERAL VISITS THE RUMANIAN "GAULLISTS"] Le Général chez les "gaullistes" roumains. *Nouvel observateur*, no. 183, May 21, 1968: 10. AP20.02, 1968

The primary objective of De Gaulle's state visit to Rumania was to convert the "dissidents" without inviting the wrath of Moscow, but the attitude of the Russians made this a very difficult task. What De Gaulle must watch for during his overtures to the more liberal East European countries is the "protective" policy of the Soviet Union toward its European satellites. Russia has already been embarrassed by the liberal upheaval in Czechoslovakia, and if De Gaulle wishes to promote a political détente in Europe, his timing will have to be perfect and his methods indirect.

1436

Lewis, John F. INDIA. NEW SPEARHEAD FOR RUSSIAN PENETRATION IN ASIA. In *American Security Council*. Washington report, May 13, 1968: 1-4. P&GP RR

In the name of "aid and trade" the Soviet Union has launched a massive new front, rivaling its penetration of the Middle East, to establish mastery over the vast reaches of Southeast Asia and the Indian Ocean. Chief beneficiary of this aid and trade is India, which has become increasingly belligerent toward its neighbors, especially Pakistan. The giant subcontinent is not only totally dependent on Russia for maintenance and growth of its military hardware but is also negotiating the leasing of two naval bases to the Soviet Union in the Andaman and Nicobar Islands. These facts are disturbing Western leaders. It remains to be seen what effect they will have on India's domestic problems; Russian political and economic penetration have certainly not made these problems any more solvable.

1437

Matveev, V. WHAT STANDS IN THE WAY? Daily review, translations from the Soviet press, v. 14, June 13, 1968: pt. 1, [item] 3, 1-3. Slav Rm

Translated from *Izvestia*, June 12, 1968. Slav Rm

Public opinion in the United States today favors better Soviet-U.S. relations. No candidate in the U.S. presidential election campaign can assume a tough anti-Soviet position. People are aware that "Soviet aggressiveness is a myth." The Soviet Union is primarily concerned to follow closely the Communist Party's general line in "creating the most favorable conditions for successful Communist construction in the U.S.S.R. and facilitating progress all over the world" and views favorably every initiative towards peace taken by "realistically thinking" bourgeois politicians and governments. The United States, on the other hand, indulges only in bombastic declarations that are not followed by practical deeds. The President's assurances that the Vietnam War and the Middle East crisis have not affected prospects for détente are false. The present U.S. policy is incompatible with peace. It even freezes cultural Soviet-U.S. relations. Although Russia is prepared to develop nor-

mal businesslike relations with the United States, it cannot be indifferent to U.S. policy toward other countries. A policy of armed intervention can only meet with rebuff. Peace and security cannot be achieved by good wishes alone but by constructive, practical deeds.

1438

Miksche, Ferdinand O. [1970-1980: SURRENDER WITHOUT A FIGHT: THE AMERICAN LEBENSZAUM] 1970-1980: capitulation sans guerre: espace vital américain. *Revue militaire générale*, Apr. 1968: 482-490, illus. U2.R48, 1968

The security of East Asia is vital to the United States, and the future of Europe depends on the events that are now taking place in that part of the world. China is capitalizing on racial rivalries and championing the revolt of Asia against the United States. And America is losing its foothold in Southeast Asia: the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization is deteriorating; relations between Tokyo and Peking, on the basis of trade potential, are likely to improve; and the Chinese Nationalists are impotent without the support of the United States. The lack of an Asian regional security system and of cohesion among its Asian allies will force the United States to abandon the fight against Chinese expansionism.

1439

NO MORE VIETNAMS? *Survival*, v. 10, July 1968: 216. U162.S9, v. 10  
Reprinted from the *New Statesman*, May 10, 1968. AP4.N64, 1968

U.S. policy in Asia has been impeded not so much by blind anticommunism as by the historical obsession with China's expansionist proclivities. Containment of China is "intellectually inadequate and historically naïve as the basis of America's Asian policy." The humiliation of negotiating with a country a tenth its size has taught the United States that the error of Vietnam should not be repeated. However, "no more Vietnams" must not become a new foreign policy in itself. A happy medium must be struck between those who see all revolutions as Communist inspired and those who advocate a Fortress America. Indeed, a logical policy would recognize that some countries can develop stable non-Communist governments and that others, no matter what the United States does, cannot.

1440

Pajunen, Aimo. FINLAND'S SECURITY POLICY. Cooperation and conflict, no. 1, 1968: 75-92. P&GP RR

The experience of war with the Soviet Union in 1939-40 taught the Finns to expect no help from the West in settling their differences with the Russians and convinced them of the feasibility of maintaining a strong national defense of their own. From their relations with Germany in World War II they learned that alliances with Great Powers limit their freedom and that Finnish geography and terrain make it possible to escape becoming a major theater of conflict. After the war Finland chose neutrality rather than alignment with either the East or West, though they were realistic enough to accept formalization of their special relationship to the Soviet Union in 1948. Since then the Finns have directed their efforts toward making their neutrality credible, particularly to the Soviet Union. The Russians' concern is to assure that Finland is not used to stage an attack on the U.S.S.R., and this coincides

# ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

with Finland's own wish to remain neutral. The Finns recognize that their neutrality will be credible only if they possess an adequate defensive shield of their own and so maintain a small but effective military establishment. They have attempted to change their environment as well as adapt to it. They strongly support the United Nations and proposals for arms control agreements in the Nordic region. On the other hand they have rejected a Nordic defense pact on the reasonable ground that they do not want to upset their currently satisfactory relations with the Soviet Union.

1441

Pick, Otto, and Roger Tilford. GAULLISM BEYOND THE RHINE. *International journal*, v. 23, spring 1968: 234-243. D839, 15, v. 23

West Germany continues to defer to Gaullist France on all major foreign policy matters. The explanation for this is simple; the economic success of the Common Market has made its members unwilling to jeopardize the organization by opposing De Gaulle on political questions. Nevertheless, Gaullist policy presents Germany with agonizing choices affecting its security. With the further erosion of NATO, the Federal Republic must either go nuclear, come to terms with the Soviet Union, or put itself under the protection of the French force de frappe. Each of these alternatives has serious drawbacks. The influence of Gaullism on German domestic policy is also significant. The Gaullist Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands is morbidly anti-American and a champion of a racial and cultural version of German nationalism. Its one foreign policy demand is German reunification based on extensive revisions of the frontier with Poland. The Gaullists of the Christlich-Soziale Union are more moderate but also more influential since they are members of the Grand Coalition. The influence of these two parties, bolstered by the Gaullist example, has made German nationalism respectable again and brought about a definite shift to the right in German politics. The stability of the Adenauer years was due to a unique set of circumstances, and German democracy did not put down deep roots. It is not surprising that De Gaulle's authoritarian scorn for party politics finds a sympathetic audience in Germany, where today there is a growing disenchantment with parliamentary democracy.

1442

Rosenfeld, Stephen S. MOSCOW'S FRENCH AFFAIR. *Interplay of European/American affairs*, v. 1, May 1968: 8-10. P&GP RR

De Gaulle's "Europe of fatherlands" is less a general political strategy than a "sentimental conception of tactical convenience for him." There can be no parallel disengagement of the superpowers--which is the basis of De Gaulle's strategy to reconstitute the unity of Europe--because Russia is part of Europe, while the United States is tied to the Continent through "blood, habit, treaty and the cosmopolitan quality that goes with great power." Indeed, the Russians have grave doubts as to the efficacy of Gaullism. They are uneasy about the improvement of Franco-German relations and not unaware that Gaullist nationalism is contagious and may spread to Eastern Europe. Consequently, Russia is unwilling to accept France as an ally. France can disturb the United States, harass NATO, and support Russian causes such as the Vietnam War; but it cannot add to the security of the Soviet Union, resolve the division of Europe, or tame Germany in the way the Russians demand. The division and vulnerability of

Germany and the need to prevent political misunderstandings precludes any quick Russian takeover in Europe, even after the withdrawal of American troops.

1443

Rostovskii, Semen. VISION IN MOSCOW: AN INCREDIBLE 'ALLIANCE' [by] Ernst Henri [pseud.] *Atlas*, v. 15, June 1968: 26-29.

APL A83, v. 15

Translated from *Literaturnaya gazeta*, Moscow. News

There are signs that relations between West Germany and China are becoming closer. Economic interchange between the two countries is increasing, and West Germany is aiding China's military development and its nuclear arsenal by manufacturing weapons of mass destruction and exporting them to the People's Republic. As the structure of NATO begins to crumble, the revanchist leaders in West Germany, who had hoped for a nuclear showdown between the superpowers and who relied on China to become the third great thermodynamic power, must rethink West Germany's position in the alliance. They resist the nonproliferation treaty and disarmament talks, which would eliminate the obstacles in the path of European union. They fear an end to the Vietnam War and are becoming increasingly aware that, as the peace talks progress, West Germany is becoming progressively isolated from the Western political scene. China, likewise an isolated country with a dismal record in attaining security alliances, is searching for a viable one with other countries. A NATO collapse could lead to a Bonn-Peking axis under Franz Josef Strauss and Mao Tse-tung.

1444

Rostow, Eugene V. THE COST OF FEALTY. In *U.S. Dept. of State. Department of State bulletin*, v. 58, Apr. 15, 1968: 493-500.

JX232. A33, v. 58

"Address made before the Manchester, N.H., Chamber of Commerce on March 22," 1968.

Defends current administration policy in the Vietnam War. Rostow stresses the continuity of the present policy with that put into effect by President Truman after World War II and followed by every administration since then. American policy is based on the conviction that U.S. security is dependent on international stability and that stability can be assured only if Americans are willing to commit themselves to the defense of weaker states threatened by Communist aggression. In the recent past, Americans have been willing to assume the burdens imposed by these commitments, but now that the Vietnam War has made honoring our pledges more costly, many are calling for a retreat into a new isolationism. Isolation, however, is impossible in the modern world. President Johnson has made every reasonable effort to find a formula for a negotiated settlement to the conflict or a reduction of the level of violence, but the North Vietnamese want neither. With the exception of those who call for outright surrender or massive escalation, no critic of the administration has proposed a solution substantially different from the present policy of firmness and restraint.

1445

Rostow, Eugene V. EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES--THE PARTNERSHIP OF NECESSITY. In *U.S. Dept. of State. Department of State bulletin*, v. 58, May 27, 1968: 680-686.

JX232. A33, v. 50

# 1. THE INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT

"Address made before the Commonwealth Club of California at San Francisco, Calif., on May 3," 1968.

Rebuts charges that the United States is neglecting its interests in Europe because of preoccupation with Asia. Rostow describes those changes in the international balance of power brought about by World War II that have made it necessary for the United States to abandon its traditional isolationism to become "the magnetic center of several overlapping systems of regional cooperation." He asserts that the crucial role of Europe in this postwar regional security system is not diminished by Asian events and argues that the interdependence of the nations of the Atlantic community, far from declining, is growing under the influence of the "implacable logic of the nuclear deterrent" and the progressive integration of European and American economic, educational, and research systems.

1446

Rostow, Eugene V. THE UNITED STATES AND TURKEY, PARTNERS IN WORLD SECURITY. In U.S. Dept. of State. Department of State bulletin, v. 56, Apr. 29, 1968: 559-562.

JX232, A33, v. 58

"Address made before the American-Turkish Society" in New York on Apr. 4, 1968.

Reaffirms Turkish-American friendship and mutual defense arrangements. Rostow dismisses charges that American concern with problems at home and in Southeast Asia will provoke a decline of interest in NATO or a retreat into isolationism. A successful attack on domestic problems can only strengthen American influence abroad, and present American resources--while not unlimited--are sufficient to deal with issues on the homefront and meet our commitments abroad, both in Asia and in Europe. Furthermore the real lesson of the Vietnam War is that viable regional security arrangements with U.S. participation are more essential than ever to the peace and survival of the free world.

1447

Rusk, Dean. THE BUSINESS OF BUILDING A PEACE. In U.S. Dept. of State. Department of State bulletin, v. 58, May 6, 1968: 579-583.

JX232, A33, v. 58

Address "made before the American Society of Newspaper Editors at Washington, D. C., on Apr. 17," 1968.

Defends postwar U.S. foreign policy. The paramount objective of this policy has always been to establish and maintain an effective system of collective security. When very early the Soviet veto paralyzed the Security Council of the United Nations, the United States turned to regional security arrangements. The value of these defensive pacts lies in their effectiveness in deterring aggression. Their effectiveness is directly a matter of credibility, and the latter is precisely what is being called into question in Vietnam. This concern with security does not mean that the United States opposes change. On the contrary, the record of recent Soviet-U.S. relations in such areas as arms control and East-West trade shows that the United States is willing to accept and in fact seeks to promote change. The record is equally clear with respect to the problems raised by technological change and the need of the developing nations for foreign assistance.

1448

Serafin, George. ROMANIA AND THE EVOLUTION OF INTER-EUROPEAN RELATIONS. Romania today, no. 100, Apr. 1968: 10.

DR201, R78, 1968

Stresses that military blocs have become an anachronism and calls for their disappearance and for "mutual respect for the independence, sovereignty and equality of states." Rumania attaches special value to its bilateral relations with other countries.

1449

Sommer, Theo. BONN'S NEW OSTPOLITIK. Journal of International affairs, v. 22, no. 1, 1968: 59-78.

JX1, C6, v. 22

Evaluates West Germany's new policy of détente with the Soviet bloc. Sommer reviews separately the course of Bonn's relations with the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and East Germany during the first year of office of the Grand Coalition. The new Ostpolitik is a genuine change of approach for the Federal Republic. Its motto, "reunification through détente," is a complete about-face from the Adenauer years, when reunification was held to be prerequisite to any relaxation of tensions with the Eastern regimes. So far Bonn has met with more rebuffs than successes because the Communist states continue to be skeptical of the good faith of the West German initiatives. Progress will come only when the specter of revanchism has been laid to rest and the Communist leaders recognize that Bonn is sincere in its search for "peace and amicable understanding" with the East.

1450

Spinelli, Altiero. SOVIET SECURITY AND THE WEST. Atlantic community quarterly, v. 6, spring 1968: 43-60.

D839, A85, v. 6

Since NATO is a response to Soviet policy, any discussion of its future must take into account Russia's approach to relations with the West. The overriding concern of the czars was to secure their empire against intrusions from Western Europe through participation in the European balance of power and extension of Russia's western frontier. The early Soviet leaders tried to substitute world revolution for czarist power politics but soon had to revive traditional diplomatic methods. Between the wars the effectiveness of this diplomacy was limited, but victory in World War II permitted Russia to push its frontiers westward and establish friendly states in Eastern Europe. Its hope of playing the dominant role in Western Europe was frustrated, however, when its military activity and ideological aggressiveness united the West and raised East-West tensions almost to the breaking point. To extricate itself from this situation the Soviet Union has tried three different tactics. The first approach, brinkmanship, is really worthless since every confrontation confirms the superiority of American power. A second approach has been to call for dissolution of separate military alliances and formation of a general concert of Europe. The Russians have been more consistent in following this policy, but it is doubtful that they actually want to see it realized. A third alternative is to recognize that regional organizations play a positive role in the search for security and that détente is possible precisely because these organizations have created the requisite stability. Even the Soviet Union stands to benefit from the continuation of NATO and the Common Market since they keep Germany subordinated

to higher political values, restrict the proliferation of decision centers controlling nuclear weapons, and restrain West European states from using their more powerful economies to dominate Eastern Europe. Unfortunately the Soviet Union remains blind to these benefits because of the fragility of its own East European system and the rigidity of Communist ideology.

1451

Szűcs, Mátyás. [THE PROBLEM OF EUROPEAN SECURITY: A LETTER FROM HUNGARY] K probleme evropejskoj bezopasnosti: pis'mo iz Vengrii. Mirovaia ekonomika i mezhdunarodnye otnosheniia, no. 6, 1968: 81-83. HC10. M5357, 1968

The foreign policy of Hungary, as a Socialist state and member of the Warsaw Treaty Organization (WTO), while supporting the principle of peaceful coexistence and promoting cooperation that would lead to social progress, seeks a reduction of tensions, East-West détente, and a new concept of a united Europe in which large and small states would be equal. Hungary joins the other Socialist states in the desire to prevent any renewal of NATO or its modernization when the North Atlantic Treaty expires and recommends acceptance of the Bucharest Conference's proposal for a simultaneous disbanding of NATO and WTO. The remilitarization of West Germany, its attempts to gain nuclear weapons, and its tolerance of growing revanchist tendencies are all considered a threat by Hungary. The existence of two German states is today a historical fact, which may help--not hinder--German reunification. But German reunification requires the recognition of East Germany as a sovereign state, renunciation of nuclear weapons by both Germanies, normalization of relations between the two German states, improved relations between NATO and WTO member states, and general avoidance of aggressive acts that endanger peace in Europe. Although a normalization of relations with the capitalist states, including the United States, is basically acceptable, it can succeed only if the sovereignty and the special path to socialism chosen by individual European countries, particularly Hungary, is respected. Hungary welcomes the loosening of West European ties with the United States and improvement of relations with Eastern Europe and is trying to establish friendly relations with noncapitalist and capitalist countries in the Danube Basin. Hungary recommends the convocation of a conference on European security to be attended by all European states, as well as a meeting of the members of parliaments to discuss constructive ways for easing tensions, and establishment of a system of collective security based on an agreement between these countries.

1452

Thomson, David. PRESIDENT DE GAULLE AND THE MÉSENTENTE CORDIALE. International Journal, v. 23, spring 1968: 211-220.

D839.15, v. 23

Gaullist foreign policy is formulated within a framework of "geopolitical determinism and historical fatalism," but its content derives from De Gaulle's own version of realpolitik. In De Gaulle's view, the nation-state is a political animal whose nature it is to struggle for power and prestige. Between a number of these struggling states arises a balance of power susceptible to manipulation by a statesman who understands its mechanics. His wartime experiences convinced him that no foreign state can be trusted to control the destiny of France. Hence Gaullist policy aims first and

foremost at asserting French independence. So far the policy has been a self-defeating and led to the isolation of France from friends as well as enemies. Some argue that De Gaulle's antagonistic policy toward Britain is based on an irrational love-hate attitude toward the British and that the latter must tread water in their relations with France until the general has departed. This is a feeble argument on which to found a foreign policy. Britain should recognize that it is in its interest to have a strong and stable France, even if it is a Gaullist one. It should recognize too that the looser organization De Gaulle has imposed on Europe benefits Britain by making participation in continental affairs much easier. For the long run, of course, British policy should be directed toward exerting more influence on those who represent the new forces in France and who are certain to inherit the French state from the Gaullists.

1453

Thorburn, Hugh. DE GAULLE AND THE PARTIES. International Journal, v. 23, spring 1968: 254-264. D839.15, v. 23

De Gaulle condemns French political parties for dividing the nation and playing petty politics. In his view this divisiveness and irresponsibility can be suppressed only by endowing the state with the authority and continuity of a strong and impartial executive. In 1958 he enshrined these ideas in the constitution of the Fifth Republic and set to work to heal national divisions. External commitments--principally the Empire and NATO--were the major sources of disharmony. De Gaulle liquidated the Empire, and, with the thaw in the cold war, began his disassociation from NATO. He then turned French energies to a liberal aid program to ex-colonials and the creation of the force de frappe. The initial outcome of his success in stabilizing French political life was a resurgence of exactly that party fractiousness he had hoped to eradicate, but here the new constitution is crucial. The popular election of the President not only gives him independent power, but forces the political parties to move toward the center and unite into two broad groupings--Gaullist and Leftist--in order to contend for the office. The Gaullist constitution promotes these developments but De Gaulle's reorientation of French foreign policy makes them possible in the first place.

1454

Trudeau, Pierre. A NEW LOOK AT THE WORLD. In Canada. Dept. of External Affairs, Information Division. Canadian weekly bulletin, v. 23, June 5, 1968: 1-2, 6. F1034.A3, v. 23

Excerpts from a policy statement by Prime Minister Trudeau, May 29, 1968.

The world has changed radically since the postwar years, and Canada's foreign policy will have to reflect current world problems and realities. Vietnam, the Middle East, nuclear proliferation, racism in the southern half of Africa, German reunification, and the clamor of the Third World are the realities. Communism as a giant monolithic party controlling the destinies of Eastern Europe is the fallacy. To meet these problems Canada will strengthen its international ties, review its military role in NATO and the North American Defense Command, participate in social and economic development programs in underdeveloped areas, recognize mainland China, and establish a new and more effective aid agency, the Canadian International Development Agency. One of the most important of these problems is China. Unless it is recognized and

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accepted into the international community the other problems will be difficult to resolve.

1455

**THE UNITED STATES AND RED CHINA.** In U.S. Dept. of State, Department of State newsletter, no. 86, July 1968: 6-9. JX1. U542, 1968

Address by Under Secretary Nicholas Katzenbach before the National Press Club on May 21, 1968.

Comments on a few of the misunderstandings and misconceptions regarding the evolution of U.S. policy toward both mainland China and the Chinese Republic on Taiwan. Katzenbach claims that, although the United States has made repeated efforts to avoid hostile relations and to maintain contact with Communist China, Communist authorities have rejected its proposals and purposely followed an anti-U.S. policy. While maintaining that the question of United States-Chinese Communist relations cannot be considered apart from the relationship between the United States and the Republic of China, Katzenbach contends that if and

when the Chinese Communists desire improved relations the United States will be willing to respond. Although he denies the inevitability of war between the two nations, the Under Secretary concludes that it is only realistic to expect any improvement in relations to be a slow process and one over which the United States has limited influence.

1456

Zhukov, Vladimir G. [WHERE DOES MAO'S POLICY LEAD] Kuda vedet politika Mao. Moskva, Mezhdunarodnye otnosheniya, 1967. 55 p.

DS777.55.Z5

Traces Sino-American relations on the basis of extensive, mostly unpublished material, with special attention to U.S. policy toward China. Zhukov tries to demonstrate how the Americans exploited the abstention policy of the Mao Tse-tung group for their purposes in the Vietnam War and to intensify international tensions.

## II. THE STRATEGIC ENVIRONMENT

### A. MODERN WAR

1457

Brodie, Bernard. [THOUGHTS ON NUCLEAR STRATEGY] Gedanken zur nuklearen Strategie. Wehrkunde, v. 17, Apr. 1968: 174-177.

U3.W386, v. 17

Warns against overstatements of the danger of an outbreak of nuclear war. Acquisition of nuclear weapons by the Soviet Union and Red China appears to temper Soviet and Chinese tendencies toward military adventurism.

1458

Chaney, Otto F. THE AGONY OF SOVIET MILITARY HISTORIANS. In U.S. Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth. Military review, v. 48, June 1968: 24-28. Z6723.U35, v. 48

Under Stalin and Khrushchev, Soviet military historiography was more concerned with eulogizing the wartime role of the Communist Party and its top leadership than in accurately recounting historical events. Since Khrushchev's fall a more objective trend in the writing of military history has appeared. The 1965 publication of a new one-volume history of the Great Patriotic War is a landmark in this respect. This work was met with a laudatory review in *Izvestia* and has been followed by the release of a number of frank and sometimes controversial memoirs by major military commanders, such as Marshal Zhukov. Publication of these memoirs has in turn provoked a flood of critical reviews and articles on various aspects of the World War II fighting in Russia. The practical implications of this reassessment have been recognized by the Chief of the General Staff and Deputy Defense Minister, Marshal Zakharov. As he stated in 1966, "an incorrect factual picture of military phenomena or events inevitably leads to erroneous theoretical conclusions and as a consequence--to unsubstantiated practical recommendations."

1459

Guttmann, Allen, comp. KOREA AND THE THEORY OF LIMITED WAR. Boston, Heath [1967] 118 p. map. (Problems in American Civilization) D3919.G8

Bibliography: p. [117]-118.

Partial contents.--pt. 1. The contemporary debate. --pt. 2. Civil-military relations: Truman and MacArthur, by Walter Mills. The exercise of presidential power, by Richard E. Neustadt. --pt. 3. Limited war in retrospect: American policy-making and the North Korean aggression, by Alexander L. George. The lessons of Korea: war and the power of man, by Alvin J. Cottrell and James E. Dougherty. The limiting process in the Korean war, by Morton H. Halperin. Truman versus MacArthur: Achilles rebound, by John W. Spanier.

Attempts to clarify the significance of the Korean War as a case-study in civil-military relations and in limited warfare, "devoting major space to the Truman-MacArthur controversy. In Korea the problem of the role of military power in the nuclear age intersected with the problem of the role of the military man in a democratic state to create what the author believes was the most severe crisis in civil-military relations in American history. He points out that Korea was America's first and only complete experience with the conduct of a limited war, and he suggests that--since the strategic and political questions it raised are in many respects the same ones that face the nation now--decisionmakers must look behind the partisan disputes that for so long have distorted the issues to see the real significance of the conflict for the strategy of modern warfare.

1460

Helmbold, Robert L. SOLUTION OF A GENERAL NON-ADAPTIVE, MANY-VS-MANY DUEL MODEL. Operations research, v. 16, May/June 1968: 518-524. Q176.OS3, v. 16

The solution of a general attrition model for two-sided battles between heterogeneous forces is obtained under the assumption that (1) interaction between the two sides takes place by an exchange of volleys, (2) each participating unit follows a prescribed attack pattern rather than adapting its behavior to the situation, and (3) target survival is stochastically independent of the actions of other fire units. (Abstract supplied)

1461

Krumpekt, Inno. [THOUGHTS ON THE KINDS AND CONDUCT OF NUCLEAR WARS] Gedanken über die Arten der Atomkriege und ihre Führung. Allgemeine schweizerische Militärzeitschrift, v. 134, Mar. 1968: 123-130. U3.A43, v. 134

Total nuclear war, with its unrestricted use of nuclear weapons, is not the only possible form of nuclear conflict. An important criterion for classification of nuclear wars is violence: what kinds of nuclear weapons are to be used, in what volume they will be used, and against what sort of targets. The determinant for all these limitations is the economy of the means for making the enemy defenseless. Rendering him defenseless, not his extinction, is the war's military goal. Since thermonuclear weapons are designed to obliterate the enemy, thermonuclear war fails to qualify as a rational means to that end. However, the use of nuclear weapons within the limits of a chosen or accepted type of war should be left in military hands. The decision on the type of war and on the war itself must be political. Hence the importance of a clear delineation of the kinds of nuclear war. The geographical expanse in which nuclear weapons are to be employed is the most decisive factor for discrimination between tactical and strategic nuclear wars. The goal of tactical nuclear war is to render the enemy

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defenseless on the battlefield, not in his hinterland. Employment of atomic weapons in strategic nuclear war is limited to support for the military campaign. Nuclear air war constitutes an important part, or even possibly a separate type, of strategic nuclear war. The limitations of strategic nuclear war would restrict the theater of a Soviet-Western nuclear war to Europe leaving the United States and the areas east of the Urals outside the theater. The vulnerability of air strips would greatly impede the landing of American forces in Western Europe; thus American big lift operations would hardly compensate for the proposed withdrawals of U.S. troops from Europe. Total nuclear war serves no rational purpose, but the queerness of human nature nevertheless makes it possible. Its conduct belongs to technicians and economists; the military play only a marginal role.

1462

Lauesen, M. L. [TOTAL WAR; AN APPRAISAL OF THE SITUATION] Der totale Krieg; eine Lagebeurteilung. Wehrkunde, v. 17, Apr. 1968: 180-185. U3.W396, v. 17

Reviews the development of strategic thought since World War I. Lauesen considers modern forms of total war and the Communist threat to the West both from the Soviet Union and Red China. Only consolidation of Western Europe and European-American unity combined can save the West from Communist domination. For the time being, however, the disproportion in forces between the West, the Soviet Union, and Red China keeps that danger at bay.

1463

Lindsey, George R. INTERCEPTION STRATEGY BASED ON INTERMITTENT INFORMATION. Operations research, v. 16, May/June 1968: 48-508. illus. Q175.O63, v. 16  
References: p. 507-508.

A penetrator,  $P$ , attempts to cross a linear barrier patrolled by a searcher,  $S$ .  $S$  receives intermittent reports of  $P$ 's position,  $P_1, P_2, \dots$ , but  $P$  knows only that  $S$  is somewhere on the barrier. After receiving report  $P_1$ , a time  $\tau$  can elapse before the next report  $P_2$  may reveal that  $S$  may be unable to intercept  $P$  even if he received continuous information thereafter.  $S$  attempts to select a position  $S(P_1)$  that maximizes  $\tau$ , while  $P$  attempts to choose a course  $\gamma$  that minimizes  $\tau$ . If the searcher is faster than the penetrator (speed ratio  $\lambda > 1$ ), values of  $\tau$  and  $S(P_1)$  that produce maximum  $\tau$  are deduced. However, maximum  $\tau < \min \max \tau$ , and  $P$  is obliged to use a mixed strategy in order to obtain the maximum. If the barrier is finite, contours of constant maximum  $\tau$  are segments of conic sections. If  $\lambda < 1$ ,  $S$  should modify the maximum  $\tau$  strategy when  $P$  is close to the barrier. An indication is given of the frequency with which reports are needed as  $P$  approaches the barrier. (Abstract supplied)

1464

Meissner, Boris, comp. [SELF-DETERMINATION OF PEOPLES IN EASTERN EUROPE AND CHINA] Das Selbstbestimmungsrecht der Völker in Osteuropa und China. Köln, Verlag Wissenschaft und Politik, 1968] 238 p. JX4054.M37  
Bibliographical footnotes.

Contents. --Introduction, by Boris Meissner. --Self-determination of peoples in Soviet international-law doctrine, by Hans Werner Bracht. --Self-determination

of peoples according to the municipal law of the U. S. S. R., by Georg Geilke. --The right of self-determination in the Polish view, by Alexander Uschakov. --Self-determination in Czechoslovak international-law doctrine, by Dietrich Frenzke. --Problems of self-determination of peoples in the Czechoslovak constitution, by Lothar Schultz. --Right of self-determination in the Hungarian view, by Georg Brunner. --Right of self-determination in the Rumanian view, by Alexander Suga. --Self-determination in Yugoslav international-law doctrine, by Dietrich Frenzke. --Self-determination in Yugoslav domestic relations, by Anton Lipowschek. --Self-determination of peoples in Bulgarian international-law doctrine, by Dietrich Frenzke. --Self-determination from the "German Democratic Republic's" standpoint, by Jens Hacker. --Legal status of the Wendish ethnic group in the "German Democratic Republic," by Theodor Veiter. --Self-determination of peoples in Communist China, by Heinrich Herrfahdt. --Minorities in the Chinese People's Republic, by Edgar Tomson. --Index of persons [mentioned in the articles].

Collection of papers on self-determination in theory and practice of ethnic groups in Communist countries.

1465

Neukirchen, Heinz. [WAR AT SEA] Krieg zur See. Berlin, Deutscher Militärverlag [1966] 195 p. illus. maps. V103.N4

Partial contents. --pt. 2. Naval warfare. The roots and origin of war. Land, sea, air, and space warfare. Peculiarities of naval warfare. Main tasks of navies. Dependence of naval battle on the stand of production forces. --pt. 7. Modern warships today and tomorrow. Revolution in the military system. Tendencies in shipbuilding after World War II. Nuclear energy as a ship propellant. Missiles and nuclear arms, the warship's new weapons. Submarine warships. Aircraft carriers. Missile-launching ships. Speedboats. Amphibian boats. Escort vessels. --pt. 8. Changes in seapower throughout history.

Outlines naval warfare since ancient times. Neukirchen considers Socialist navies the only guarantee of today's freedom of the seas.

1466

Schaffer, Marvin D. LANCHESTER MODELS OF GUERRILLA ENGAGEMENTS. Operations research, v. 16, May/June 1968: 457-488. illus. Q175.O63, v. 16

Develops a set of Lanchester-type equations modeling small-force guerrilla engagements that are typical of the early stages of insurgency. These equations include the effects of supporting weapons and the discipline or morale of the troops involved. The novelty of this treatment from the mathematical point of view is the use of time-dependent weapon-efficiency coefficients. Although the models and theory are not adequate to predict the outcome of an insurgency, they should prove useful for examining the credibility of casualty claims associated with such conflict. In addition, the models provide useful insight regarding the important attack parameters of guerrilla warfare. In some cases, notably those concerning ambushes, the theory suggests new military hardware that in the past has been difficult to justify on analytical grounds. (Abstract supplied, modified)

## ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

1467

Steinort, Wolfgang. [DEPENDENCE OF NAVAL WARFARE ON NATURAL PHENOMENA: CHANGES SINCE THE TURN OF THE CENTURY AND A PROGNOSIS] Die Abhängigkeit der Seekriegführung von den Naturerscheinungen: Wandlungen seit der Jahrhundertwende und Ausblick. Marine Rundschau, v. 65, Apr. 1968: 107-125. illus. V3.M3, v. 65

Deals with natural phenomena as determining factors for various modes of naval warfare. Steinort considers the effects of weather conditions on naval communications and radar ranges and of water conditions (salt content, fauna, flora) on the efficacy of submarines and their vulnerability to detection.

### B. MODERN WEAPONRY AND RELATED TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENTS

1468

[ATOMIC ENERGY: ULTRACENTRIFUGE; BAN BROKEN.] Atomenergie: Ultrazentrifuge; Bann gebrochen. Spiegel, v. 22, Apr. 1, 1968: 192, 194. illus. AP30.S66, v. 22

Dutch scientist Jacob Kistemaker recently constructed an "ultracentrifuge," through which nuclear fuel can be produced economically for reactors or bombs even in small isotope-separation plants. The new process portends European independence from the virtual American monopoly on production of fuel and supplies. For years the Germans and Dutch have conducted research in Jülich on the centrifuge system, but it was kept secret on the urging of American representatives to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons to small countries.

1469

[BAC/BREGUET JAGUAR; TACTICAL COMBAT AIRCRAFT AND OPERATIONAL TRAINER] BAC/Breguet Jaguar; taktisches Kampfflugzeug und Einsatztrainer. Flug Revue, May 1968: 56-59. illus. TL503.C524, v. 666

Begins with a description of the development programme of the twin-jet combat aircraft BAC/Breguet Jaguar. This programme includes the building and testing of eight prototypes. The article continues with the fabrication of the fuselage which will be supervised by SEPECAT [Société Européenne de Production de l'Avion d'École de Combat et d'Appui Tactique], a company set up by BAC [British Aircraft Corporation] and Breguet. A second Anglo-French company--Rolls-Royce/Turbomeca--will control the development and production of the power plant. The author then takes a look at the missions which the various Jaguar types will be capable of carrying out. An exact description follows of the landing gear, power plant (two RB 172/T 280 Adour), the fuel system, flight control system, hydraulic, electrical, navigation, fire control and reconnaissance systems, the latter in the case of the Jaguar reconnaissance version. A description of the weapon systems closes the report. (Abstract supplied, modified)

1470

Beaumont, Roger A. THE POTENTIAL OF AIR-CUSHION VEHICLES. In U. S. Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth. Military review, v. 48, June 1968: 19-23. Z6723.U35, v. 43

Describes potential uses for the air cushion vehicle (ACV). The unique characteristics of the ACV will enable it to bridge important gaps in both civil and military transportation networks. In addition it has great promise as a combat vehicle in a variety of land and sea operations.

1471

Breyer, S. [NEW SHIPS OF THE GERMAN FEDERAL NAVY] Neuere Schiffe der Bundesmarine. Marine Rundschau, v. 65, Apr. 1968: 127-128. illus. V3.M3, v. 65

Drawings of the destroyer Hamburg, the minesweeper Bamberg, the munitions carrier Weserwald, the "weapons-research ship" Planet, the salvage tugboat Helgoland, the mine carrier Steigerwald, and the "workshop ship" Odin.

1472

Burnham, Frank A. EMPHASES GROWS ON MILITARY USE OF NUCLEAR UPPER STAGE. Aerospace technology, v. 21, June 17, 1968: 21-22. UG630.M54, v. 21

Points out the intensification of military interest in the nuclear rocket development program sponsored by the Atomic Energy Commission and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. Although there has been no significant expression of interest at the Department of Defense policy level, many aerospace experts and Air Force officials are discussing the merits of nuclear-propelled space interceptor vehicles. The experimental model of a future flight engine, Nerva XE-1, has performed excellently in major ground tests, and program spokesmen are optimistic that a nuclear-powered rocket stage can be developed for use in the post-1975 period.

1473

Butz, J. S. OH SAY, YOU CAN SEE: Air Force and space digest, v. 51, July 1968: 34-38. illus. UG633.A65, v. 51

Reports progress in the area of night-vision technology. Three types of first-generation image intensifying devices are now in use in Vietnam that are far superior to any previous frontline night-vision equipment. Despite the low priorities assigned by the Defense Department to such devices, they are certain to revolutionize combat tactics by vastly improving the efficiency of night operations. Guerrilla fighters have traditionally relied on the cover of the dark and will suffer tremendous handicaps when that cover is removed.

1474

Candlin, A. H. S. STRATEGIC POTENTIAL OF THE AIR-CUSHION VEHICLE. Astronautics & aeronautics, v. 6, July 1968: 54-58. illus. TL501.A688A25, v. 6

Forecasts an increasingly important role in amphibious warfare for the various types of air-cushion vehicles (ACV) projected for future military use. Because of their seaworthiness in adverse weather conditions and their adaptability to various types of waterways, the ACV's can be used effectively in both counterinsurgency and antinubmarine warfare operations.

## II. THE STRATEGIC ENVIRONMENT

1475

Christ, Rolf F. [V/STOL FAMILY OF THE EWR]  
V/STOL-Familie des EWR [by] et. Wehr und Wirt-  
schaft, v. 12, Apr. 1968: 163-165. illus.  
U3.W39, v. 12

The "Arbeitsgemeinschaft Entwicklungsring Süd" was established in Munich in 1959 . . . to develop a vertical take-off aircraft. . . . While VJ 101 CX-1, a vertical take-off aircraft, achieved horizontal supersonic flight for the first time in the world, the X-2 model accom-  
plished a first . . . by flying through the entire transi-  
tion phase with afterburner engines. Since the trans-  
formation of EWR into a . . . limited liability company the Bölkow group holds a 50% share in this company.  
Later on the EWR became a partner of the Republic  
Aviation Division of Fairchild-Hiller Corp. on the basis  
of a bilateral government agreement between Federal  
Germany and the USA . . . to develop the advanced air-  
craft weapon system AVS. In the present report  
authentic cost figures of the AVS project are published  
for the first time. After termination of the Systems  
Definition Phase, the . . . project was stopped by  
agreement of both countries. The present main task of  
EWR is to design the NKF weapon system (NKF stands  
for "Neues Kampfflugzeug") in partnership with Bölkow  
and VFW. The system is destined to serve as a suc-  
cessor of F-104 G and FIAT G. 91. (Abstract supplied,  
modified)

1476

Crawford, Robert E. THE CIVIL ENGINEERING  
BRANCH OF THE AIR FORCE WEAPONS LABORA-  
TORY. Air Force civil engineer, v. 9, May 1968: 2-5.  
illus. P&GP RR

Discusses the Civil Engineering Branch of the Air  
Force Weapons Laboratory, which formulates research  
and development programs to support the requirements  
of the Air Force civil engineer. The major operating  
sections of the Branch include protective structures,  
facilities technology, experimental, and special proj-  
ects. The Civil Engineering Branch may one day help  
fill the critical need for a central point for coordina-  
tion and direction of these Air Force programs.

1477

DE GAULLE'S ARSENAL PACKS A BIGGER PUNCH.  
Business week, no. 2030, July 27, 1968: 130, 132.  
HC431.B87, 1968

Describes the present state of French nuclear weap-  
ons technology and the probable composition of French  
strategic forces through the mid-1970's. Detonation of  
a hydrogen bomb and several enriched uranium nuclear  
warheads in tests this summer will be a major step  
forward for the French, but pressing problems may  
force them to postpone any further improvements.  
Probably a compromise will be worked out: full  
planned deployment of second and third generation  
strategic weapons systems but postponement of  
improved tactical weapons until the early 1970's.

1478

Geiger, George J. THE TANK KILLERS. Armv, v. 18,  
June 1968: 37-42. illus. U1.A893, v. 18

Surveys the antitank weapons of 10 countries, from  
Australia's Malkara, the largest antitank missile, to  
Japan's most advanced missile, the MAT (TAT-M-1).  
U.S. antitank missiles described are the TOW, Dragon,  
and Shillelagh.

1479

Georgetown University, Washington, D. C. Center for  
Strategic Studies. THE SOVIET MILITARY TECH-  
NOLOGICAL CHALLENGE. Washington, 1967. 98 p.  
illus. (Its Special report series, no. 6)  
UA770.G35

Partial contents. --Contemporary military science  
and technology: strategic dimensions. --The Soviet  
military technological base. --Factors in Soviet tech-  
nological growth. --Soviet military technological  
achievements. --Soviet defensive missile systems. --  
Soviet military research and development in the 1970's.  
--Implications for U.S. policy.

Examines the strategic implications of modern tech-  
nology and reports the growth and development of Soviet  
scientific and technological capabilities. The study  
emphasizes that "for the Soviets, political détente does  
not mean a scientific and technological détente in mili-  
tary affairs." American policymakers must not be  
deluded by the philosophy of a technological plateau,  
because the Soviet Union has given no indication that it  
will discontinue its drive for strategic supremacy in the  
coming decade. In order to meet the Soviet threat the  
United States "must continue to build an expanding base  
of technology that can both advance our own capabilities  
for new systems and reduce reaction time when a new  
weapon actually appears in the arsenal of the potential  
enemy."

1480

Harari, Roland. THE LONG MARCH OF CHINESE SCI-  
ENCE. Science journal, v. 4, Apr. 1968: 78-84. illus.  
QL.S57, v. 4

While Communist China is in many respects a scien-  
tifically underdeveloped country, in the opinion of four  
French scientists who recently toured many Chinese  
scientific facilities its scientific potential should not be  
underestimated. Through initiative and determination  
Chinese scientists have been able to overcome the lack  
of modern equipment and China's global isolation and  
forge ahead in many scientific fields. Chinese scien-  
tists were the first to master the artificial synthesis of  
insulin and in 1967 constructed the H-bomb without out-  
side help. China's scientific cadre is a unique combi-  
nation of Western-trained experts and recruits drawn  
from the ranks of peasants and workers. Although Chi-  
na's political leaders do not impose ideological restric-  
tions on its scientists, the latter are bound by their  
devotion to Chairman Mao and concentrate on serving  
the interests of the state. They are aided in their prog-  
ress by the information they obtain from Western sci-  
entific journals. However, they do not copy Western  
methodology exactly but instead adapt it whenever pos-  
sible to suit China's particular needs and resources.  
Eventually China's unique problems may force its sci-  
entists to "blaze new trails" and develop totally new  
techniques. All four French scientists agreed that  
whether this will happen remains to be seen; they  
emphasized that China has come a long way and has not  
yet been deterred by the obstacles along the difficult  
road to scientific success.

1481

Hegland, Jon R. [THE ROYAL NORWEGIAN NAVY,  
1945-1968] Die Königlich Norwegische Marine,  
1945-1968. Marine Rundschau, v. 65, Apr. 1968:  
93-106. illus. V3.M3, v. 65

An appraisal of the strength and role of the Norwe-  
gian Navy. Hegland discusses at length the moderniza-

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tion of the Navy in the sixties and its particular suitability to operations in Norwegian waters, where no other NATO fleet could replace it.

1482

**HOW SILENT, HOW DEEP, WILL FUTURE SUBS RUN?**  
Business week, no. 2025, June 22, 1968: 86, 88.  
HC431, B87, 1968

Reveals a Pentagon controversy "over the shape and performance of U.S. nuclear subs yet to come." Whereas Vice Adm. Hyman G. Rickover is pushing for development of radically improved attack submarines, the Director of Defense Research and Engineering, John S. Foster, is willing to settle for evolutionary changes in design. The final decision will depend largely on estimates of Soviet technology. However, Rickover has already won considerable congressional support even though his proposal would mean expenditures of \$100 million per sub compared to the \$83 million for Foster's Sturgeon-class sub.

1483

**Hutton, W. M. THE FUTURE OF ARMOUR.** In Royal United Service Institution, London. Journal, v. 113, May 1968: 96-103. U1 R6, v. 113  
"A lecture given at the R. U. S. I. on 2nd November 1967." Discussion included.

For centuries man has tried to produce a more mobile and powerful weapons system. Until World War II nothing, including the airplane, had replaced the tank; since then even nuclear or chemical and bacteriological weapons have not given other mobile weapons systems a better chance for survival or greater effectiveness than the tank. The "mechanized fighting vehicle," one alternative to the tank, and another alternative, the helicopter, have clear disadvantages. Although anti-tank guided weapons have been developed, they also have severe limitations. Considering Britain's commitments for the future--mainly the defense of Europe and small contributions to U.N. or allied forces--it still needs the tank. A greatly improved tank could be produced by 1980, and, used in combination with the helicopter, could mark a great leap forward in mobile warfare.

1484

**[THE "JAGUAR"]** Air & cosmos, v. 6, Apr. 20, 1968: 26-44. illus. P4GP RR

Describes the systems and potential role in future strategic forces of the Jaguar airplane. The Jaguar was developed through Franco-British cooperation and has laid the foundation for possible future collaboration at various decisionmaking levels in weapons procurement.

1485

**Kelly, Brian. TODAY'S THINKING IN AIR FORCE RECONNAISSANCE.** Data, v. 13, May 1968: 15-19. illus. P4GP RR

Interview with Robert W. Waltz, Commanding Officer, Tactical Air Reconnaissance Center (TARC), Shaw Air Force Base, concerning the development and needs of U.S. aerial reconnaissance. Until TARC's establishment in 1963, the Department of Defense had no agency to coordinate tactical development. In 1967 TARC incorporated into its mission tactical electronic warfare support, which exploits enemy vulnerability to

electronic warfare operations. Waltz notes that without TARC it would be difficult to determine where the threat exists in time of conflict and in emergencies. He concludes that industry is not addressing the total systems concept in tactical reconnaissance; e.g., instant processing and transmission of the target image to an interpreting point or instant relay of target analysis to ground units that need reconnaissance intelligence.

1486

**King, Harry K. THE MIGHTY USS NEW JERSEY REJOINS THE NAVY.** Navy, v. 11, Apr. 1968: 15-18. illus. VA49, N28, v. 11

Because of the offensive power of its 16-inch main battery and the defensive strength of its 10-inch armor, the U.S.S. New Jersey has been recommissioned and assigned to shore bombardment missions off Vietnam. The Vietnam War has revealed a continuing need for major-caliber gunfire support vessels; missiles lack the firepower, accuracy, and economy of naval gunfire. At present the range of the Navy's big guns cannot match that of many missiles, but research promises the possibility of firing a 16-inch shell as much as 100 miles. Misgivings have been expressed about the austere conditions under which the New Jersey will have to operate, particularly its reduced crew size. Others are worried that the North Vietnamese, for reasons of prestige, will stop at nothing to destroy the ship. Styx missiles, reportedly to be installed along the North Vietnam coast, pose a definite threat, though presumably the New Jersey will be equipped with electronic countermeasures. The New Jersey is only a stopgap; new vessels will be needed to provide future gunfire support capability. A step in the right direction is the FY 1969 preliminary budgeting for a gunfire support ship, which will combine the accuracy and destructiveness of big guns with the saturation capability of rockets.

1487

**London, Michael P. ADVANCED STRATEGIC MISSILES.** Space/aeronautics, v. 49, June 1968: 58-69. TL5Q, A786, v. 49

Discusses a wide range of techniques for assuring the survivability and penetrability of U.S. offensive missile forces. Since an ICBM must be able to survive a hostile environment in order to succeed as a deterrent, U.S. military experts are increasingly concerned with improving missile defenses. While most experts do not go to the extreme of advocating ABM deployment for silo protection, they are examining methods for hardening ICBM launch sites, concealing the missiles during flight, and overcoming the enemy's terminal defenses.

1488

**Lynn, Norman. [GENERAL DYNAMICS' F-111--A SITUATION REPORT]** General Dynamics F-111--ein Situationsbericht. Flug Revue, May 1968: 60-65. illus. TL503, C524, 1968

No other US aircraft programme has been the butt of so much controversy as the General Dynamics F-111 supersonic two-man, all-weather, multi-purpose weapon system--the world's first production aircraft with variable-sweep wings. Our progress report on the F-111 views the status of the programme, the F-111 missions, the major contracts covering the programme, the programme objectives as well as the criticism which chiefly centers around the F-111B Navy

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version. Norman Lynn then gives a basic description (wings, propulsion system, landing gear, fuel system, electrical, hydraulic and pneumatic subsystems, environmental control, avionics, fire-power control, reliability and maintainability of the aircraft, and the weapons system). Many people have been free with criticisms of the F-111A. For this report, the men who have flown it were asked to assess some typical fault-finding. At the end of the article the author gives a résumé of their comments and answers, compiled from sources at five USAF commands. (Abstract supplied, modified)

1489

Madouse, Richard L. THE FDL SURFACES AGAIN. In United States Naval Institute, Annapolis. Proceedings, v. 94, June 1968: 64-66.

VI.08, v. 94

History of the Navy's fast deployment logistic (FDL) ship project. Established in 1965, the project was based on the need for a sealift force for rapid deployment of troops and supplies. The Navy applied total package, multiyear procurement concepts to the FDL in order to provide a stimulus for the modernization of U.S. shipbuilding facilities and techniques, lower the average cost of ships, encourage standardization in ship components, and increase industry's contribution to ship design and construction methods. Concerned that the FDL would encourage the United States to assume the role of world policeman and that it would be operated in competition with the merchant marine, Congress did not appropriate funds for the project for FY 1968. However, the Defense Department still agrees there is a need for the FDL program and plans to resubmit it in its FY 1969 budget request.

1490

NAVY PLUMBS THE OCEAN'S DEPTHS. Business week, no. 2027, July 8, 1968: 58-59.

HC431.B87, 1968

Sketches the Navy's program to map the ocean floor and develop a new navigational system that will enable it to increase the operational ability of its submarines. Costs of the 3,000-man oceanographic office are expected to rise from the \$38.6 million spent in fiscal year 1968 to \$59.3 million in fiscal year 1969.

1491

Norris, John G. RUSSIA'S SUBSTITUTE FOR THE AIRCRAFT CARRIER. Navy, v. 11, July 1968: 8-13, 37.

VA49.N28, v. 11

Gauges the threat of the Soviet Navy's surface-to-surface missiles (SSM's). They are an inexpensive and inferior substitute for aircraft carriers. Since the U.S. Navy's SSM defenses are adequate, scarce funds are better spent in strengthening the fleet air arm than in bolstering fleet defenses or developing a U.S. SSM.

1492

Pao, Chin-an. PEIPING'S CAPACITY FOR NUCLEAR WEAPONRY. Chinese Communist affairs, v. 5, Apr. 1968: 6-9.

DS777.55, C4495, v. 5

From 1964 to 1967 China conducted seven nuclear tests (the sixth was of a hydrogen bomb). Peking is now striving to produce smaller hydrogen bombs and long-range ballistic missiles, instead of bombers and medium-range missiles, in order to establish a nuclear

parity with Russia and the United States. China has a gaseous diffusion plant at Lanchow, with an annual capacity of over 100 kg. of uranium-235; the 100,000 kw. Paotou reactor, fueled with uranium and producing 10 kg. of plutonium per year, mainly for research; the Yumen atomic energy plant, producing about 200 kg. of plutonium-239 annually; and the Haiyen plant, which concentrates on the development of nuclear bombs. At present China has about 350 kg. of uranium-235--enough to produce 50 to 60 uranium atomic bombs, and the Yumen plant's capacity is estimated by American experts at 200 kg., which is enough for 20 to 30 plutonium bombs. The Americans expect China to possess 100 hydrogen bombs by 1970. In addition China has a substantial number of missile-producing plants and three testing grounds. The Western Ningxia Testing Center is the largest; it includes an assembly shop, hanger, test station, control station, six test positions, and tracking and logistic facilities and is probably preparing for the testing of long-range missile and launching facilities. In 1967 Secretary McNamara estimated that China would be able to test-fire an intercontinental missile by the end of 1967 or early 1968 and will possess megaton-class nuclear warheads and intercontinental missiles by 1970. Evidently China is going all out to develop these weapons.

1493

[A PERISCOPE FOR OBSERVATION OF THE RADIO-ACTIVE ENVIRONMENT] Periskop zur Betrachtung radioaktiver Umgebungen [by] B. L. Chemische Rundschau, v. 21, May 8, 1968: 305.

TPI.C3485, v. 21

Outlines the principle of a device constructed by the Harwell nuclear research institute for seeing through opaque nuclear-fallout clouds.

1494

PROMOTING AF PROGRAMS WITHOUT BENEFIT OF PRIORITIES. Space/aeronautics, v. 49, May 1966: 32, 36, 40.

TL501.A786, v. 49

In its annual meeting in Atlanta, the American Air Force Association (AFA) discussed Vietnam and a number of new Air Force programs. AFA officials warned that the bombing halt in Vietnam could involve serious military risks. Maj. Gen. Alvan C. Gillem of the Strategic Air Command stated that the United States should enhance its air capability in Vietnam by replacing some of the B-52's with FB-111's. The new General Dynamics F-111A fighter drew criticism at the conference because of its recent failures. On the other hand, the Ling-Temco-Vought A-7A Corsair 2 was praised for its performance during combat tests aboard the carrier Ranger off Vietnam. With many Navy and Air Force orders for other models of the A-7, production of the Corsairs is expected to rise to 1,600. Lockheed's versatile C-5A transport also received a favorable report at the conference and was projected to be in operation by 1969. While AFA's support of the Air Force is commendable, its effectiveness is downgraded by its failure to suggest priorities for the new Air Force programs and its "parochial approach to national security and other national goals."

1495

[THE PUGWASH CONFERENCE; ABM SYSTEMS AND THE ARMS RACE] Pugwash-Konferenz; ABM-Systeme und Rüstungswettlauf. Atomzeitalter; Information und Meinung, Apr. 1968: 208-215.

P&GP RR

# ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

Text of the Pugwash Conference paper prepared by C. F. Barnaby, F. Calogero, L. Prawitz, and Delbrück.

Analyzes the possible effects of the development and deployment of the superpower ABM systems. In the opinion of the authors the ABM will start a new arms race, cancel progress already made in the area of arms control, and dim prospects for disarmament.

1498

**REACTORS OF THE WORLD.** In International Atomic Energy Agency. Bulletin, v. 10, no. 2, 1968: 28-29. QC770.14955, v. 10

This is an amendment to the list published in v. 10, no. 1, of the Bulletin. See item no. 1033, v. 4, no. 3, of this bibliography.

Lists nuclear power reactors operating or under construction in states belonging to the International Atomic Energy Agency. Name, location, type, net output, and criticality date are given for each reactor.

1497

Scholin, Allan R. **A MISSILE AND SPACE GALLERY.** Air Force and space digest, v. 51, June 1968: 72-73, 75-76, 79-80, 83-84, 87-89. UG633.A65, v. 51

Lists the booster systems and missile and space weapons deployed or under development by the U.S. Air Force, Army, and Navy. Each weapon is categorized by branch of service and followed by a description of its general characteristics, status, and contractors.

1498

Spence, Roderick C. **THE ROVER NUCLEAR ROCKET PROGRAM.** Science, v. 160, May 31, 1968: 953-959. illus. Q1.S35, v. 160

Outlines the progress and underlying concepts of the Rover nuclear rocket research and development program, which was begun in 1955. Although the basic principles of nuclear rocket engines are relatively simple, difficulties in the areas of materials development, reactor design and analysis, neutronics, instrumentation and controls, and reactor testing must be overcome before an operational model can be constructed. Under the guidance of the Space Nuclear Propulsion Office (a joint office of the National Aeronautics and Space Agency and the Atomic Energy Agency) many of the problems have been overcome, and ground tests will begin sometime this year on the first realistic engine configuration. However, experts predict it will still be many years before the development of an operational nuclear rocket stage is completed.

1499

Starbird, Alfred D. **THE SENTINEL ANTI-BALLISTIC MISSILE PROGRAM.** Signal, v. 22, July 1968: 32-33. UGI.M65, v. 22

Address by General Starbird, Sentinel System Manager, at the Armed Forces Communications and Electronics Association convention.

Discusses earlier ballistic missile defense systems, beginning with the initial Nike-Zeus program in 1958, and the six Sentinel subsystems, including the Sprint and Spartan missiles and perimeter acquisition radar network. General Starbird concludes that the U.S. bal-

listic missile defense research and development effort will always be prepared to counter any enemy innovation in offensive missile capability.

1500

Stone, Irving. **WHAT'S AHEAD FOR US DETERRENT FORCES.** Air Force and space digest, v. 51, June 1968: 52-56. illus. UG633.A65, v. 51

Of the many new developments currently under consideration for strengthening U.S. deterrent forces, superhard silos are receiving the most immediate emphasis. The silos are among a variety of missile basing methods analyzed for the Defense Department by the STRAT-X Committee, composed of representatives from the military, industry, the Rand Corporation, and the Institute for Defense Analyses. The silos would take 3 to 5 years to install and would be designed to accommodate both the Minuteman III and any completely new ICBM's that might be developed. To withstand greater blast pressures than the present Minuteman silos, they would be larger (about 125 feet long and 18 feet in diameter) and would be housed in hard-rock areas. Although the new launch facility would not be designed for any specific missile, it would probably become a prominent factor in the design of new generation missiles in regard to size, range, and accuracy. The new silo is also an important factor in the Air Force study of whether future missiles should be "self-ejected" (full thrust would be delayed until the missile is 50 to 75 feet above the silo) or "hot launched" in the conventional manner. In addition to fixed land-based missile systems, the Defense Department is studying mobile land-based systems and fixed and mobile underwater missile bases. Although the Pentagon is actively working on countermeasures to the Soviet fractional orbital bombardment system, it has no immediate plans to construct a space-based system for the United States.

1501

Terzibaschitsch, Stefan. **[NAVAL ARMAMENTS AS REFLECTED IN THE NEW FLEET MANUALS]** Maritime Rüstung im Spiegel neuer Flottenhandbücher. Marine Rundschau, v. 65, Apr. 1968: 133-142. V3.M3, v. 65

Reports on changes made in 1967 in the weapons systems of 24 navies. The data are based on Weyer's Flottentaschenbuch 1968, by G. Albrecht; Jane's Fighting Ships 1967/68, by R. V. B. Blackman; and Les Flottes de combat 1968, by H. Le Masson.

1502

Thomer, Egbert. **[SUBMARINES IN THE EAST AND WEST]** U-Boote in Ost und West. Wehrkunde, v. 17, Apr. 1968: 212-216. U3.W396, v. 17

Analyzes the development of U.S. and Soviet submarines into strategic weapons systems. Thomer reports on the strength and composition of the submarine fleets of these two nations plus Great Britain, France, Sweden, the Netherlands, Japan, and the German Federal Republic. In the area of nuclear-powered submarines the United States has a decisive lead over the Soviet Union.

1503

U.S. Congress. Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. **NAVAL NUCLEAR PROPULSION PROGRAM, 1967-68.** Hearings, Ninetieth Congress, first and second ses-

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sions. March 16, 1967; February 8, 1968. Washington. U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1968. 505 p. illus.

VA53. A7 1968

Includes bibliographies.

Includes a record of the unclassified portions of the hearings, a chronological summary of statements issued by Government officials regarding nuclear propulsion for surface warships, and copies of significant documents concerning naval nuclear propulsion. The hearings covered many of the issues involved in providing nuclear propulsion to naval forces and emphasized the Navy's need to improve the capabilities of its nuclear submarines and create a force of nuclear-powered guided-missile escorts. The committee praised Vice Admiral Rickover for the efficiency of the program and expressed its support for the program's continued improvement.

1504

[THE U.S. NAVY IS STUDYING A DEFENSE AGAINST THE SOVIET MISSILE "STYX"] L'US Navy étudie activement une parade au missile soviétique "Styx." Air & cosmos, v. 6, May 11, 1968; 18.

P&GP RR

The destruction of the Israeli destroyer *Eilat* by a Styx surface-to-surface missile has influenced the U.S. Navy's missile defense program. Already the Navy has come up with the Sparrow, a surface-to-air missile; the Sea Shillelagh, a modified version of the antitank Shillelagh missile; the Tartar; Sidewinder; and a new version of the Phoenix air-to-air missile. These missiles are part of a Navy program to ensure the safety of ships by detecting and destroying incoming enemy warheads.

1505

Ulsamer, Edgar E. THE LIGHT INTRATHEATER TRANSPORT: FLEXIBLE AIRLIFT FOR THE FRONT LINES. Air Force and space digest, v. 51, July 1968: 39-42. illus. UG633. A65, v. 51

Discusses Air Force plans to develop for tactical support operations a light intratheater transport (LIT) aircraft that will have a range of about 500 nautical miles, a cruise speed of between 350 and 400 miles, and either V/STOL or STOL capabilities. According to the basic specifications worked out by a number of Defense and industry studies the LIT will be able to supply all standard Army equipment up to the battalion level, except for tanks, and accommodate about 50 fully equipped combat troops. Although a V/STOL aircraft would be more expensive to develop than one with just STOL capabilities, its proponents point out it would be far more versatile and invaluable in rugged terrain.

1506

Weschler, Thomas R. NAVY PUSHES PROGRAM FOR THREE NEW DESTROYER TYPES. Navy, v. 11, Apr. 1968: 33-35, 38-39. illus. VA49. N28, v. 11

Because of the large number of vessels involved, replacement of America's World War II vintage destroyer fleet presents the Navy with substantial problems. Three types of new vessels in the destroyer family are needed: small, unsophisticated vessels for antisubmarine warfare, gun-and-missile-equipped destroyers for attack carrier escort, and nuclear-powered, missile-equipped vessels combining great

staying power with the characteristics of the conventional destroyer. Ships of the first type are being replaced satisfactorily by present construction programs. To provide vessels of the second type, the DX-DXG program was proposed in late 1966, and this is to be followed by a DXGN program for ships of the third category. The DX-DXG program applies the contract definition-total package procurement approach to the construction of naval vessels for the first time. This approach supplements Navy expertise with industrial ingenuity by bringing the contractor into the design phase of the program. The first aim is to reduce the number of ship classes and standardize design within classes to take advantage of large-quantity production of identical ships by a single contractor. This approach is also expected to produce a better integrated weapons system with lower maintenance costs and greater ease of subsequent modernization as well as increased combat effectiveness. Overall, the program promises a major breakthrough in lowering the procurement and operation costs of naval vessels.

1507

Wilks, Willard E. NAVY DOT PLANS FOR FISCAL '69-70 INCLUDE TITANIUM HULL FOR ALVIN. Aerospace technology, v. 21, June 17, 1968: 39-40. UG630. M54, v. 21

Outlines the Navy's deep ocean technology (DOT) projects planned for FY 1969, which include a construction system for sea floor engineering, a titanium hull for Alvin submersible, power sources for fixed-bottom sites, advanced vehicles power sources, a variable ballast trim system, a deep submergence vehicle rescue system, and optic-acoustic imaging systems. Current projects to be extended are the development of electric drive systems for underwater vehicles, tandem propulsion systems, a manned submersible test bed vehicle to operate at 20,000 feet, a manned bottom installation to operate at 6,000 feet, and a systems support platform to operate at 3,000 feet. The last three items are considered focal projects that will provide the means of developing the technological base for future deep ocean warfare systems. Since none of the DOT projects are directed toward specific weapon systems developments, focal systems are needed to permit the progression of new technology concepts.

## C. NATIONAL SECURITY POLICIES AND MILITARY STRATEGIES

1508

ADC: TIGER WITH TEETH. Aerospace safety, v. 24, Apr. 1968: 2-11. UG633. F43, v. 24

Outlines the tasks and organizational structure of the Aerospace Defense Command (ADC). As the U.S. Air Force component of the North American Air Defense Command, the ADC employs a staff of over 93,000 and is divided into 13 air divisions and one aerospace defense division. ADC is responsible for the vast radar network that shields the North American Continent and operates four types of fighter interceptor aircraft. With its efficient training methods and complex automated control centers, the ADC is well equipped to carry out its important mission and is constantly striving to improve its capabilities to meet future commitments.

# ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

1509

Arzumakov, G. UNDER THE GUISE OF TALKS ABOUT FLANKS. Daily review, translations from the Soviet press, v. 14, June 6, 1968: pt. 2, [item] 2, 1-4.

Slav Rm

Translated from Izvestia, June 5, 1968.

Slav Rm

The "threat" to the NATO flanks is the guise under which the American imperialists are striving to unite other governments--including those in Latin America and the Pacific--into an aggressive military bloc. Under the cloak of the threat the Western leaders are increasing military bases around Europe and are beginning to construct a communications center north of Norway. A missile ground control center has already been completed on the island of Crete. The threat talk by the U.S. imperialists is designed to link their European partners "tighter to their chariot" and has served to mislead the public and complicate the struggle for international détente.

1510

Auberjonois, Fernand. BRITAIN IN THE SEVENTIES.

Réalités [Eng. ed.] no. 211, June 1968: 27-31.

AP4, R2164, 1968

Interview with Britain's Defense Secretary, Denis Healey, regarding Britain's defense posture for the coming decade. According to Healey, Britain decided to accelerate the withdrawal of its forces East of Suez in order to strengthen the economy and increase its defense capability in Europe. Healey does not foresee any trouble in either the Far East or the Gulf area after the British withdrawal and envisages an increase in regional cooperation in both areas. He states that by concentrating its military resources in Europe, Britain hopes to increase its political influence on the Continent and create the basis for a more equal relationship with the United States.

1511

Baldwin, Hanson W. AFTER VIETNAM--WHAT MILITARY STRATEGY IN THE FAR EAST? New York Times magazine, June 9, 1968: 36-37, 69-70, 72, 74, 76, 78, 82, 84, 87. AP2, N6575, 1968

Asia, with its bordering islands and seas, will be an area of instability and conflict for decades to come. It is therefore essential that the United States devise a post-Vietnam military strategy for this area--one that does not lead from weakness against an enemy's strength. Asia's greatest strength is manpower, but to this must be added the Soviet Union's increasingly sophisticated technology, strategic weaponry, and naval forces. A maritime strategy, centered on a nuclear-powered fleet operating from island bases stretching from the Aleutians to the Chagos, offers the best chance of countering the Communist threat. Such a strategy would be linked to the defense of carefully chosen mainland redoubts and the judicious use of economic power. Its success would require perpetuation of the Sino-Soviet split and maintenance of an umbrella of superior strategic nuclear forces. A maritime strategy would enable the United States to choose the time and place of ground interventions but not eliminate the use of ground actions altogether. In the use of these forces the present policy of gradualism would have to be abandoned. The United States would have to be ready to hit hard and fast and willing to escalate technologically, even to the level of tactical nuclear weapons if necessary. This would not be a cheap pol-

icy, but the alternative of a withdrawal into a "Fortress America" is a mirage of security. The United States will have peace and security only if it uses its power to stabilize and reconstruct a new Asia.

1512

Barclay, C. N. [BRITISH DEFENSE POLICY 1968; A REVIEW BASED ON ANALYSIS OF THE BRITISH DEFENSE WHITE PAPER OF 1968] Britische Verteidigungspolitik 1968; Überblick auf Grund einer Analyse des britischen Verteidigungsweissbuches von 1968. Wehrkunde, v. 17, Apr. 1968: 200-209.

US, W396, v. 17

Points out that Great Britain's present defense policy aims at a gradual withdrawal of British forces from East of Suez through 1971 and concentration of its forces in Europe.

1513

THE BEAR LEARNS TO SWIM. Economist, v. 227,

May 18, 1968: 19-20. map.

HQ11, E2, v. 227

Considers the buildup of the Soviet naval force in the Mediterranean the result of a fundamental decision to increase the Soviet Union's strategic mobility. This is the third priority in Soviet defense spending, the first two being nuclear armaments and maintaining Russia's conventional strength at home and in central Europe.

1514

Bjøl, Erling. NATO AND DENMARK. Cooperation and conflict, no. 2, 1968: 93-107.

P&GP RR

The Danish decision to join NATO can be attributed more to an absence of any real alternatives than to a genuine predilection for regional security arrangements. The question now is whether Denmark should quit the alliance after 1969. Its Security Policy Study Group has attempted to structure the current debate on this issue by focusing attention on three areas of discussion: the probable impact of technological change on Denmark's security problems, the nature of the security threat, and the defense options available. The effects of technological change are somewhat contradictory but their true import can be assessed only by relating them to Soviet policy. The significance to Soviet political strategy of Danish control of the Baltic approaches is quite obvious. The place occupied by Denmark in Soviet war plans is less clear since this depends on whether the Soviet leaders are anticipating a short or long war in Europe. A Scandinavian defense alliance is one alternative to membership in NATO, but the chances of putting one together are nil. A second alternative--isolated neutrality--is equally unrealistic. The only option remaining is continued membership in NATO. This could take one of two forms. The alliance could be continued without any explicit new engagement, but this would be impractical and dangerous. The other possibility is a new 20-year commitment. To keep the commitment from looking like a hostile act against the Soviet Union, it would have to be coupled with recognition of the German Democratic Republic and the Oder-Neisse Line. Unfortunately tendencies toward disintegration in NATO and neoisolation in the United States probably will prevent this policy from being adopted. Pending a decision on these matters, Denmark should guard against letting increasing West German-Danish military integration impose limits on its future political options.

## II. THE STRATEGIC ENVIRONMENT

1515

Brosio, Manlio. **AN ANALYSIS OF THE HARMEI REPORT: PAST AND FUTURE TASKS OF THE ALLIANCE**. NATO letter, v. 17, Mar. 1968: 8-13. D845.2.A44, v. 17

Comments on the report, a study of NATO's future prepared for the NATO Council of Ministers in December 1967. Despite the expectations of those who envisioned a more closely integrated Atlantic community based upon a partnership between Europe and the United States, the report does not forecast any radical changes in the structure or purpose of the alliance. Although the report visualizes a larger role for the alliance in the pursuit of political rapprochement with Eastern Europe, it emphasizes the continuing importance of NATO to European security. Only behind the shield of NATO can the Europeans conclude satisfactory negotiations with the Soviet bloc and successfully work out the problems of creating a united Western Europe.

1516

Bruderer, Georg. ["DNEIPER"--BIG FALL MANEUVERS OF THE SOVIET ARMED FORCES] "Dnjepr"--grosse Herbstmanöver der Sowjetarmee. Allgemeine Schweizerische Militärzeitschrift, v. 134, Feb. 1968: 78-84. illus. U3.A43, v. 134

Outline and analysis of September 1967 military exercises in the Goniel-Chernigov-Kiev-Zhitomir-Mozyr' area. Surprisingly, no tactical nuclear weapons were used despite the depth of the front and its approximately 250-km. width. In part the maneuvers aimed at testing the high mobility of Soviet forces to improve command capability.

1517

Buchan, Alastair. **BATTENING DOWN VAUBAN'S HATCHES**. Interplay of European/American affairs, v. 1, May 1968: 4-7. PACP RR

The prospects for European unity are contingent upon whether Great Britain and France will mollify their nuclear defense policies. So long as the two countries aspire to be the coguarantors of a European security system, it will be difficult for Germany to accept any restrictions on its freedom of action from which two economically inferior neighbors are exempt. Although Great Britain, disillusioned with the "special relationship" and concerned with the problem of chaos in the Third World, might decide to reduce its nuclear arsenal, France is less likely to give up plans to increase its independent nuclear force. Although the French Cabinet is divided as to the feasibility of a global nuclear strategy, there seems little doubt that France could build a nuclear force over the next 20 years that would have a worldwide range. An attack on France's missile bases would cause enormous casualties, owing to its dense and evenly spread population. It therefore must seek a missile base outside its own country--but where? If France relies on missile-firing submarines, it will be at the mercy of any advances in detection achieved by the superpowers. In addition, planning France's nuclear strategy will be difficult because it has no "preferred enemy." The targeting of missiles requires detailed topographical information and the solution of reconnaissance and communications problems. Furthermore, it must be expected that, given a French long-range nuclear capability, a fraction of American strategic forces would eventually be targeted on France. Should the all-azimuths policy succeed, France would turn itself into

a Vauban fortress and shut itself off from the rest of the international community.

1518

Clemens, Walter C. **CHINESE NUCLEAR TESTS: TRENDS AND PORTENTS**. China quarterly, no. 32, Oct./Dec. 1967: 111-131. D5701.C743, 1967

Mao's dictum that "power grows out of the barrel of a gun" has been substantiated by world reaction to the Chinese nuclear tests. Many African and Asian nations, even though they condemned the United States and Russia for testing nuclear weapons, were reluctant to denounce China's tests--the majority of the nations that condemn the Chinese tests belong to the Western or Soviet alliance systems. Many countries, whether from fear or respect, have stepped up the pressure to seat China in the United Nations. There is also the prospect that, given some combination of external or internal developments that would jeopardize the existing regime, China's leaders may embark upon a desperate, even suicidal course. The combination of haziness about foreign commitments in Asia, the uncertainty about this area of U.S.-Russian rivalry, and the communications abyss make the Asian subsystem far more volatile than the East-West cold war confrontation ever was.

1519

Coffey, J. I. **STRATEGY, ALLIANCE POLICY, AND NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION**. Orbis, v. 11, winter 1968: 975-995. D839.O68, v. 11

The United States must decide whether it should maintain its nuclear monopoly in the interests of NATO solidarity or allow its allies to control nuclear weapons or share in decisionmaking. It has been unwilling to do the former, since this would negate the strategy of "controlled response" and deprive America of flexibility in its reactions to political crises and Communist threats. Multilateral control would, in effect, be giving France, England, and the U.S. a blank check to use nuclear weapons whenever they wished. However, many Europeans have grown skeptical of American strategy. They feel that the emphasis on tactical nuclear weapons and conventional forces may cause the Russians to believe they could attack with impunity, thereby weakening the credibility of a deterrent. Likewise the American concept of a "pause" before the use of nuclear weapons is viewed as a disadvantage that encourages Russian aggression. Furthermore the Russians themselves might launch a tactical nuclear strike against highly vulnerable and concentrated conventional forces in central Europe and shatter or at least neutralize them. Europeans are seeking to deter a nuclear attack with more nuclear weapons rather than with U.S.-sponsored conventional forces, while the United States resists not so much the augmentation of nuclear stockpiles as their employment at the discretion of its allies. The United States tried without success to allow some measure of European control in NATO nuclear strategy through creation of the Multilateral Force (MLF), but the forces required to implement NATO nuclear strategy are largely American or under American control. The answer to integration may be national nuclear forces. These forces could be used to trigger an American strike--a factor that Russian strategists have not overlooked. An effective alliance strategy will require Franco-American cooperation, since France could invalidate U.S. strategic concepts by independently deploying nuclear weapons.

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In addition the idea of a NATO nuclear force along the lines of the MLF must be abandoned, and coordinated nuclear planning must take place within the Joint Strategic Targeting Group and the newly established special committee of NATO Defense Ministers.

1520

Cottrell, Alvin J. **THE CHANGING ROLE OF LAND ARMIES IN THE 20TH CENTURY.** Current history, v. 54, June 1968: 321-326, 367.

D410.C82, v. 54

The role of ground forces as the principal instrument of ultimate decision has declined in the 20th century. But despite the U. S. military-technological revolution, ground forces continue to play a variety of roles, e. g., in graduated deterrence, limited war, and counterinsurgency. While the United States is moving away from the doctrine of massive retaliation and is accepting the concept of prevention of total war, ground forces continue to play a major role in Chinese and Russian strategy. However, the unpopularity of the Vietnam War and the threat from China's numerically superior army may force the United States into reliance on strategic offensive weapons and naval power unless it is prepared to use nuclear weapons. If this happens the United States could eliminate the draft, reduce the size of the armed forces, and create a professional military service, which would continue to wage counterrevolutions if not in Asia at least in Latin America.

1521

Ducier, Michel. **[AMERICAN STRATEGY] La stratégie américaine.** *Écrits de Paris*, no. 270, May 1968: 5-9. AP20.E355, 1968

A report by the National Republican Committee on National Strategy, published on April 18, 1968, noted that flexible response and gradualism could transform a skirmish into total war because they emphasize prudent deliberation instead of initiative and resolution in anticipation of a second strike. The report further observed that, applied to Vietnam, these strategies have produced disastrous results. The author of these strategies, Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara, has had such an iron grip on decisions in the war that many generals in the field have been handcuffed in their decisionmaking. In addition the North Vietnamese have profited from the Secretary's strategy of gradualism; since the last third of 1967 they have tripled their surface-to-surface installations, increased by 250 percent their antiaircraft forces, and augmented their radar alert system. The United States must take the initiative in nuclear strategy. It must prepare to use any force necessary to attain its stated objectives and to convince those who are looking for trouble that it will use this force.

1522

Dedekind, Adolf. **[THE GERMAN FEDERAL REPUBLIC IN A QUANDARY ABOUT SECURITY AND DÉTENTE] Die Bundesrepublik Deutschland im Zwiespaß zwischen Sicherheit und Entspannung.** *Wehrkunde*, v. 17, Apr. 1968: 185-186. US.W396, v. 17

The secondary importance attached to West German territorial and civil defenses was consistent with NATO's massive retaliation strategy. But the new strategy of flexible response adopted in 1967 by the NATO Ministerial Council requires the immediate upgrading of those defenses. This strategy rests largely on the principle of crisis management, which

would not be practicable without strong West European conventional forces. But legal, financial, and political objections to a buildup of conventional forces are being raised in West Germany, especially the argument that they would hinder East-West détente. Yet tangible prerequisites for détente are still missing. Only on the basis of its own strength can the West, and the German Federal Republic, hope to achieve relaxation of tensions and a lasting peace in Europe.

1523

**DEFENSE AGENCY'S "TECHNICAL RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT PLAN" ON AIRCRAFT AND GUIDED MISSILES.** *Japan Socialist review*, no. 155, May 1, 1968: 25-33. HX9.J3, 1968

Commentary on the plan, to be carried out under the third defense buildup program. Although there are no official plans for producing nuclear weapons during the defense buildup, Socialist Dietman Yanosuke Narasaki revealed to the House of Representatives budgetary committee that the Defense Agency is planning development studies of antisubmarine aircraft, radar-equipped early warning planes, radio-controlled reconnaissance planes, and a variety of short-range guided missiles. According to Narasaki many of the contemplated research projects go far beyond Japan's self-defense requirements and show an obvious trend toward nuclear armament.

1524

**DEFENCE TECHNICAL PLAN: JAPAN IS DEVELOPING AMM AND CHEMICAL WEAPONS.** *Japan Socialist review*, no. 152, Mar. 15, 1968: 11-17. HX9.J3, 1968

Socialist Dietman Yanosuke Narasaki has told members of the Lower House Budget Committee that he possesses documents revealing Defense Agency plans for a technical research development program in relation to the third defense buildup, which could lead to Japan's nuclear armament. He announced his intention to seek more information on the program and severely criticized the Sato government for its apparent intention to violate the nonnuclearization principles. According to Narasaki, Defense Agency plans for 1967 through 1970 call for studies of antimissile missiles, homing equipment for surface-to-air missiles, electronic countermeasures, ultralow altitude radar, and high performance air-to-ground missiles. Furthermore, the agency intends to examine the utility of chemical and biological weapons. Because of Narasaki's shocking disclosures, defense problems are expected to receive a good deal of attention during the current session of the Diet.

1525

Dorn, Jürgen. **RED FLAG AT SEA--A SUPERPOWER AMERICAN STYLE.** *Atlas*, v. 16, July 1968: 26-29. AP1.A83, v. 16  
"Translated from *Rheinischer Merkur*, Cologne." Newsap

Discusses the increasing influence and size of the Russian Navy in the Mediterranean. The Soviet Navy is challenging U. S. naval supremacy around the world: It has the largest fishing and submarine fleets in the world; it is building aircraft carriers; and concomitant with its planned long-distance naval operations it is constructing a nuclear defense network that includes defensive antiballistic missiles and offensive fractional orbital bombardment systems. The author concludes

## II. THE STRATEGIC ENVIRONMENT

that these combined operations are capable of "neutralizing the United States as the protective and deterrent power of the West."

1526

Geisenhoyner, Stefan. **THE ARAB AIR FORCES: WILL THEY TRY AGAIN?** Air Force and space digest, v. 51, July 1968: 44-48. illus.

UG633.A65, v. 51

Reports on the current status of Arab air forces and their prospects for the future. Although most of the equipment that was destroyed in the Arab-Israeli War has been replaced, the air forces still are handicapped by the lack of training and control that caused their disastrous performance in the June 1967 war. Unless the "reborn" Arab air arms are manned by Soviet pilots, which is highly improbable, they will not be prepared for aggressive action against Israel until well into the next decade.

1527

Glenn, William. **QUEMOY QUESTIONS.** Far Eastern economic review, v. 60, June 13, 1968: 565.

HC411.F18, v. 60

To effect economies to offset the cost of the Vietnam War, the Department of Defense has recommended that Taiwan withdraw from the Quemoy and Matsu island complexes. However it probably won't do so because of the value of the offshore islands: they are used as electronic monitoring points and they pin down a large number of Chinese troops, reinforce Taiwan's morale, and provide early warning of an amphibious or air attack. The United States cannot force Taiwan to withdraw because of that country's booming economic situation; it could finance its own defense for 2 years. The offshore islands have dropped out of the international spotlight since the last air raid against them in 1960, mainly as a result of China's internal problems. However, if these islands are abandoned, China may seize them "as a welcome diversion from internal trials and tribulations."

1528

Glukhov, Iurii. **BUNDESWEHR IS REARMING.** Daily review, translations from the Soviet press, v. 14, Apr. 22, 1968: pt. 2. [Item] 4, 1.

Slav Rm

Translated from Pravda, Apr. 22, 1968.

Slav Rm

Discusses the types of arms to be replaced and allocation of funds in the Bundeswehr's rearmament plan. This reactionary plan may increase Bonn's prestige among its NATO partners and strengthen West German attempts to prevent the conclusion of the nuclear non-proliferation treaty and claims for the revision of post-war European borders.

1529

Gorbatenko, Dmitrii D. **[THE SHADOW OF THE LUFTWAFFE OVER EUROPE: FROM THE HISTORY OF GERMAN AVIATION]** Ten' Luftvaife nad Evropoi; iz istorii germanskoi aviatsii. Moskva, Nauka, 1967. 204 p.

UG635.G3G5

Partial contents. --From the Kaiser to Hitler. --The striking power of aggression. --In NATO's first echelon.

History of the Luftwaffe's combat operations during World War I and II and of its development after World War II with American backing into a serious threat to peace. The imperialist warmongers are impatient to utilize the Luftwaffe for a nuclear attack against the U.S.S.R. and other Socialist countries, but they will find the invincible power of the Warsaw Treaty Organization an obstacle.

1530

Haekkerup, Per. **WHY DENMARK SHOULD STAY IN NATO.** NATO letter, v. 16, Apr. 1968: 2-5.

D845.2.A44, v. 16

Advocates continued NATO membership for Denmark despite recent criticisms of the alliance. Haekkerup maintains NATO is still essential to European security and is fully capable of continuing to carry out its task. Denmark has profited from the protection afforded by the alliance and should not pull out because of false allegations that NATO increases the risk of involvement in a global war and makes Denmark a lackey of U.S. policymakers. Only with the security provided by NATO can Denmark strive to improve international and European cooperation.

1531

Handel-Mazetti, Peter. **[NAVAL ARMAMENTS OF THE SOVIET UNION AND THE NAVAL STRATEGIC SITUATION IN THE MEDITERRANEAN]** Die Seerüstung der Sowjetunion und die seestrategische Lage im Mittelmeer. Österreichische militärische Zeitschrift, v. 6, Mar./Apr. 1968: 85-90. illus.

P&GP RR

The naval strategic situation in the Mediterranean has radically changed in the past decades. With only Gibraltar left in British hands, Great Britain has as good as disappeared from the area. France's withdrawal from the NATO military organization, the Turkish-Greek feud over Cyprus, the growing Soviet fleet in the Mediterranean, and Moscow's increased influence in adjacent lands all strongly affect the strategic situation of the Atlantic alliance and all Mediterranean nations as well. On the whole, the Soviet threat to U.S. and NATO naval forces in the area surpasses their threat to the Soviet Navy.

1532

Harrigan, Anthony. **BRINKMANSHIP AT SEA--A TWO-WAY STREET?** Navy, v. 11, July 1968: 14-18.

VA49.N28, v. 11

Urges U.S. retaliation in kind for Soviet-instigated incidents on the high seas. These incidents are but one aspect of the Soviet Union's aggressive maritime posture in the Mediterranean Sea and elsewhere. They represent a calculated attempt by the Soviet Navy to gain a psychological advantage over U.S. forces and should be met with vigorous countermeasures.

1533

Hartley, Livingston. **HARMEI REPORT COMMENTARY.** Atlantic community quarterly, v. 6, spring 1968: 9-16.

D839.A85, v. 6

"From a report to the NATO Committee of The Atlantic Council, February, 1968."

The initial reaction to the Harmel Report was predominantly negative, but subsequent analysis suggests that it may become a landmark in the progressive

development of the Atlantic alliance. French agreement to the report was an accomplishment in itself, and the procedure followed in the "Harmel Exercise"--the initial preparation of recommendations by highly qualified individuals rather than governments--was precedent setting. A primary contribution of the report is its recognition that deterrence and détente are complementary, not conflicting. Another is its reaffirmation of the necessity of U.S. participation in any European settlement and of the need for political solidarity in the quest for security and détente. The report also recognizes that the alliance has responsibilities outside the NATO area and approves the past practice of consultation without commitment on these problems. Perhaps the most significant aspect of the report is its recognition of the broad political tasks of the alliance. In this respect it effectively counters those who maintain that NATO is strictly a military organization and that its period of usefulness is over.

1554

Hill, R. J. FRENCH STRATEGY AFTER DE GAULLE. *International Journal*, v. 23, spring 1968: 244-253. D039.15, v. 23

The two tasks which De Gaulle has set himself are to forge a new national unity and to recapture for France its place of international leadership. French strategy is influenced as much by the domestic as the international goal. The most spectacular aspect of French military policy is its nuclear weapons program. The strategy for the use of these weapons is derived from Dulles' theory of massive retaliation. For the moment France lacks a second-strike capability, which means that its own forces invite a preemptive strike and can deter only conventional attacks. Thus a primary goal in the next 10 years must be to create a more credible massive retaliatory mechanism. The nonnuclear program calls for the reequipping of existing conventional forces, particularly the Army. It remains to be seen whether France can succeed with these plans since the technological and economic problems are formidable. Should De Gaulle depart before the work is finished, anti-Gaullist successors may undertake to scrap his programs--both nuclear and conventional--but it is unlikely that they would attempt to dismantle completed work. The Gaullists, of course, hope to see all parties reconciled to the military establishment, and the latter reconciled to the Fifth Republic. For the long term, the French must avoid that strategic dogmatism that has cost them so much in the past. De Gaulle himself follows a pragmatic approach. The massive retaliation doctrine will be continued through the 1970's, but after that, if antimissile systems are perfected by the superpowers, the French may again find themselves dependent on the United States. On the other hand, if strategic hardware becomes cheaper the French may be able to continue their independent course.

1535

Hinterhoff, Eugène. [CHANGE IN THE EAST-WEST RELATION OF FORCES] Die Entwicklung des Ost-West-Kräfteverhältnisses. *Wehrkunde*, v. 17, May 1968: 239-244. U3.W396, v. 17

A coordinated and integrated defense system--not the Western nuclear arsenal alone--has deterred Soviet invasion of Western Europe. The thoroughly defensive character of NATO strategy accounts for the alliance's failure to realize its most important goal, the solution of the European problem. The systematic buildup of the Soviet nuclear potential and simultaneous

retrenchment in the U.S. nuclear deterrent in terms of detonation values will soon create for the United States a "megaton gap" large enough to upset the delicate balance of terror on which America's and NATO's present strategy rests. In number of ICBM's the Soviet Union is rapidly catching up with the United States. The diminishing credibility of the American second-strike capability may eventually call for U.S. adoption of a first-strike strategy. Some years ago the United States withdrew its medium-range missiles from Europe because of their alleged obsolescence. However, similar Soviet missiles are still in service, thus reducing the NATO potential to strike the Soviet Union. The strength of the Soviet missile-launching submarine fleet is catching up with that of the American, British, and French fleets combined. The newly developed Soviet fractional orbital bombardment system could put the entire American second-strike capability completely out of order. The American ABM system is still in the experimental stage, while the Soviet one has already been deployed for protection against any nuclear missiles launched by the U.S. 6th Fleet. The United States scrapped one thousand of its B-47 aircraft in the belief that they were obsolete. Consequently the Soviet Union now has the strongest fleet of strategic bombers in the world, constituting a serious threat to the American mainland from the North. Moscow's current efforts to make the Arab world the collective responsibility of the Warsaw Pact Organization threatens Western security still further.

1536

HOUSE GROUP DEMANDS STUDY OF NAVY OPERATIONAL REQUIREMENTS. *Armed Forces Journal*, v. 105, July 27, 1968: 29, 32. U1.A66, v. 105

Although the House Appropriations Committee approved \$77 million for the advance procurement of general purpose destroyers and nuclear-powered guided-missile ships and authorized construction-conversion funds for 28 ships, committee members expressed concern that the Navy's development programs would not be adequate to meet future operational challenges. In particular, they criticized the programs for failing to make sufficient use of nuclear propulsion and for sacrificing performance for cost reductions. The committee requested the Navy, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the Secretary of Defense to prepare a thorough review and analysis of future naval requirements as a guide for authorization on forthcoming construction requests.

1537

Ignatius, Paul R. THE SOVIET NAVY: WE ARE STILL AHEAD. *Vital speeches of the day*, v. 24, June 1, 1968: 482-484. PN6121.V52, v. 24  
Speech delivered before the Retired Flag and General Officers' Symposium, Washington, D. C., Mar. 29, 1968.

Although the Soviet Navy has undergone remarkable growth in size and reach, the U.S. Navy is far larger, stronger, and more versatile. The Russian Navy is hampered by geographical disadvantages: there are only two areas in the Soviet Union that provide naval base complexes open to the oceans--the Kola Peninsula and the Northern Pacific area. But the Soviet Navy is learning, and it is here to stay. Aside from seeking greater political effectiveness, it hopes to use more mobile and flexible naval forces to attain objectives in distant lands through indirect support of indigenous forces.

## II. THE STRATEGIC ENVIRONMENT

1538

Kent, Irvin M. CIVIL AFFAIRS IN THE NATO MILITARY STRUCTURE. NATO's fifteen nations, v. 13, Feb./Mar. 1968: 71-73, 75.

UA646, F5, v. 13

Reviews the principles of and describes the ideal organization for the conduct of civil affairs functions by military forces; criticizes present NATO arrangements in this area and recommends improvements. The term civil affairs encompasses all of the relationships between a military commander and his civilian environment. The goal of the commander is to promote essential civilian support for or reduce interference with his logistic and tactical operations. In time of crisis this may require assuming the functions of the civilian government. In wartime, the civil affairs operations of the military will overlap or closely approximate those of the civil defense authorities. Thus the two activities are complementary, and the more effective the civil defense effort, the less will be required of military forces for protection and control of populations or provision for their welfare.

1539

Kruls, H. J. EDITORIAL. NATO's fifteen nations, v. 13, Feb./Mar. 1968: 12-13.

UA646, F5, v. 13

Argues for the continuation of NATO or an equivalent after the expiration of the original 20-year pact in 1969. The present international environment is very different from that of 1949, but it is no less dangerous and certainly more complicated. The great destructiveness of nuclear weapons has created a balance of terror. However, though the danger of nuclear war with the Soviet Union may be less, the threat of a conventional attack is greater. NATO ought to be renewed in a revised form. Kruls suggests 10 important modifications fundamental to a reorganization and renewal of the alliance -- modifications that stress NATO's function as a power-balancing, peacekeeping organization rather than its role as the "fighting" alliance of the Atlantic powers.

1540

Kuznetsov, Iurii. DANGEROUS COURSE OF "POLAR EXPRESS." Daily review, translations from the Soviet press, v. 14, June 3, 1968: pt. 1, [item] 5, 1-2.

Slav Rm

Translated from Pravda, June 1, 1968.

Slav Rm

The NATO Command will hold a big military exercise under the code name "Polar Express" in northern Norway and adjacent waters between June 3 and June 22, 1968. The maneuvers' objective is to deploy mobile NATO forces on "vital flanks" and arrange "air bridges" to move large contingents of foreign troops with equipment and material into Norway. Such a demonstration of armed might in direct proximity to Soviet borders is not only clearly provocative but can cause international tension, especially because of the participation of West German armed forces, which are beginning to occupy a leading position in NATO. Besides, the demonstration is intended to frustrate Norway's recently disclosed tendency to abrogate its commitment to NATO.

1541

Kuznetsov, V. [NATO BEHIND A POLICE CORDON] NATO za politseiskim kordonom. Nedelia, v. 9, June 30, 1968: 12. Slav Rm

Among protests and demonstrations and protected by a police cordon, the political representatives of the NATO countries met in Reykjavik to discuss NATO's future. Willy Brandt, the West German Foreign Secretary, attacked East Germany, holding it responsible for the destiny of East Berlin and Germany as a whole and recommending a demonstration of solidarity by the West European countries. His policy was strongly supported by the United States. Dean Rusk, denying rumors that his country wants to recall its armies from West Germany for economic reasons and curtail NATO appropriations, asserted that the United States will fulfill its obligations toward NATO. The Greeks complained about the "Soviet threat" in the Mediterranean area. The Portuguese tried to justify their colonization policies in Africa and expressed their reservations about the nonproliferation treaty. The Icelandic press asked the United States to close its military bases and remove its forces from Iceland and advocated withdrawal from NATO and the disbanding of this aggressive bloc.

1542

Léontin, L. [FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SOVIET ARMY] Le cinquantenaire de l'armée soviétique. Revue militaire générale, Apr. 1968: 448-462.

U2, R48, 1968

History of the Soviet Army from its birth as an offspring of the Imperial Russian Army in 1918 to its present status as a bulwark of a great nuclear power. Léontin notes that after Stalin's purge in 1937 the quality of the Soviet Army was drastically reduced as was seen in its 1939 defeats by the Finnish Army and in its failure to resist the Germans in 1941. Since 1954 the Soviet Army has been adapting itself to the nuclear age through the introduction of scientific instruction and modern weapons and equipment.

1543

LETTER FROM LONDON. NATO's fifteen nations, v. 13, Feb./Mar. 1968: 14-18, illus.

UA646, F5, v. 13

Comments unfavorably upon recent British security policy: the precipitous and ill-planned withdrawal from Aden, the probability that devaluation of the pound will offset the economies expected from cutbacks in defense spending overseas, the financial aspects of Britain's purchase of fifty F-4's from the United States, and the expected German withdrawal from the British-led Jaguar project. The author suggests that the present British Government has gone too far in sacrificing defense capability to the requirements of national economic rejuvenation.

1544

Lowe, George E. THE CASE FOR THE OCEANIC STRATEGY. In United States Naval Institute, Annapolis. Proceedings, v. 94, June 1968: 26-34.

VI, U8, v. 94

Unless the United States devises a new grand strategy to resolve the conflicting demands on its resources created by the Vietnam War, the new weapons technology, overseas commitments, and urban unrest, a disastrous competition for scarce resources may ensue that "could rip apart the very fabric of the American society." The three most widely discussed strategic options are neoisolationism, preemptive nuclear war, and a national interests strategy. Neoisolationism and preemptive war are both strongly supported by the

"technocrats," who maintain adamantly that America's best hope lies in the attainment of worldwide technical superiority. A national interests strategy would identify U.S. commitments and vital interests and devise appropriate policies and military force levels. One of the least considered but most promising means of fulfilling a national interests strategy would be an oceanic system. Sea-based strategic forces would be less vulnerable to attack than land-based forces and a seaborne missile defense system could intercept enemy missiles soon after firing. By combining its oceanic forces with those of other nations, the United States could patrol strategic areas of the world to maintain order. An oceanic strategy would force the advancement of American technology without nurturing a war-winning philosophy and would free billions of dollars to improve the lives of impoverished Americans. Furthermore, "it is the only grand strategy that will preserve those liberal traditions and conservative values that make our civilization worth saving in the first place."

1545

Madzolewski, S. ["EAST OF SUEZ": A SURVEY OF THE BRITISH IMPERIALISTIC STRATEGY IN ASIA AND IN THE PACIFIC BASIN] "K vostoку ot Suezsa": O perspektivie strategii angliiskogo imperializma v Azii i v basseine Tikhogo okeana. Mirovaia ekonomika i mezhdunarodnye otnosheniia, no. 6, 1968: 29-39. HC10. M5357, 1968

Britain's policy in Asia and in the Pacific Ocean area, where British monopoly capital still has extensive economic interests, has recently undergone a fundamental revision. The author analyses the factors responsible for the revision of the "East of Suez" doctrine and of the methods used by British imperialism to uphold its influence in that area at a time when a number of British military bases and strongholds there are gradually being abandoned. (Abstract supplied)

1546

Martin, J. A. N. A. T. O. -- PAST AND FUTURE. Contemporary review, v. 212, May 1968: 252-256. AP4. C7, v. 212

A major determinant of the course of postwar European politics has been the impulse toward continental unity. However, the basic fact of European political life since the war has been the division of the Continent into hostile Eastern and Western blocs. These two elements in the European situation were brought together by the creation of NATO in 1949. Two problems have plagued the alliance throughout most of its existence: the absence of unified political direction and disagreement over the use and control of nuclear weapons. Nevertheless NATO has proved to be quite effective in deterring Soviet aggression, and although the alliance has been weakened in recent years by the relaxation of East-West tensions, those who argue that both it and the Warsaw Pact have outlived their usefulness and therefore that NATO ought to be disbanded unilaterally are speaking foolishly. The alliance must be renewed in 1969 although not necessarily in its present form. Renewal of the alliance will not by itself provide answers to all of the important European security questions. One of these is the question of whether British and French nuclear forces have any strategic or political value. A strong case can be made for unilateral nuclear disarmament, but neither Britain nor France can be expected to adopt such a policy in the near future. Meanwhile the outlook for progress in the disarmament talks at Geneva is discouraging. Those

deciding the future of NATO must take these matters into account along with the political changes that have occurred since 1949. Above all, what is needed is a flexible approach to the future and to peace.

1547

Martin, Laurence. THE BOMB: THE NEXT PRESIDENT'S DILEMMA. Spectator, v. 220, June 21, 1968: 845-846. AP4. S7, v. 220

An issue that is largely being ignored by the presidential candidates--except in reference to the ABM question--is America's lagging strategic weapons program, attributed to the financial drain of the Vietnam War and McNamara's policies of self-restraint. There is considerable fear that Russia is overtaking the United States in strategic weapons development and Russia's activities in the Mediterranean indicate a lesser degree of strategic inferiority than at the time of the Cuban missile crisis. Any U.S. decision to develop new sophisticated nuclear weapons, at a time when a new "missile gap" may become an issue in the campaign, would do more harm than good. What is more important is the "spirit in which the new generation of weaponry is pursued", and whether the superpowers can agree to slow down the arms race.

1548

Martin, Laurence. RUSSIA'S NAVY: A NEW CHALLENGE? Spectator, v. 220, May 10, 1968: 624-625. AP4. S7, v. 220

Despite the increase in Soviet naval strength and activity in the Middle East there is some doubt that this show of strength represents as new a departure in Russian naval behavior as suggested by some American commentators. Although Russia's Navy has grown and its leaders boast of a new maritime supremacy, its doctrines and procurement policies suggest that it has continued to regard the Navy "as primarily concerned with defence of the homeland." The Soviet presence in the Mediterranean is a defensive response to the strategic nuclear threat posed by American Polaris submarines. However, the movements of the Soviet fleet and new departures in Russian naval behavior deserve careful study. There are too many alarmists who, armed with patchy information, are misleading the public. U.S. military officials should be more open and frank about the Soviet Navy in order to avoid miscalculation of resolve and to answer the vital question of what effect Britain's withdrawal East of Suez will have in the Middle East.

1549

McConnell, John P. THE QUEST FOR NEW ORDERS OF MILITARY CAPABILITY. Air Force and space digest, v. 51, June 1968: 121-124, 127.

UG633. A65, v. 51

Adapted from an address given at the Air Force Association Convention, Apr. 4, 1968, in Atlanta, Ga.

The new supertransport aircraft, the C-5A, represents more than a major advancement in military airlift; it has led to a major breakthrough in operational military capabilities. Whether such breakthroughs are the result of expertly managed programs like the C-5A or major technological discoveries, they are vital to the maintenance of military superiority. In order to meet the challenge of future technological advances on the part of potential aggressors, the United States must constantly endeavor to achieve new military capabilities. In the field of tactical airpower the United States

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must not only seek higher accuracy in bomb delivery but should strive for a technological breakthrough that will narrow the gap between the firepower of nuclear and conventional munitions. While the United States has significantly improved its ballistic missile force, it has neglected to update the other part of the strategic mix, manned bombers. In order to preserve a two-pronged deterrent it should begin developing an advanced manned strategic aircraft to replace the obsolete B-52's. Operational breakthroughs are also desirable in the field of missile defense, since the first nation to achieve an impenetrable defense against enemy missiles will enjoy a tremendous strategic advantage. Because there is no such thing as the "ultimate weapon," the United States must be prepared to be the first to discover any new phenomena that could revolutionize warfare.

1550

McElroy, Neil H., and others. **MILITARY EXPERTS TELL WHY "GRADUALISM" FAILED IN VIETNAM.** U.S. news & world report, v. 64, Apr. 29, 1968: 56-58. JKL U65, v. 64

"From the text of a Republican Co-ordinating Committee paper, 'Gradualism--Fuel of Wars,' released April 18, 1968."

Criticizes current U.S. defense strategy, which is an amalgam of two related doctrines: a revised version of the traditional concept of flexible response and a new stratagem called gradualism. The first of these doctrines invites aggression; the second encourages its escalation or prolongation. The disastrous consequences of present strategy can be seen most clearly in the American failure in Vietnam and in the growing weakness and disarray of NATO. Unlike current strategic doctrine, a truly effective strategy would discourage aggression and political opportunism by confronting the enemy with clearly unacceptable risks, preserve for the United States control over the level and nature of the U.S. military response, and avoid closing indispensable military and diplomatic options through publicly proclaimed, self-imposed limitations on the use of American military might.

1551

Mendershausen, Horst. **WEST GERMANY'S DEFENSE POLICIES.** Current history, v. 54, May 1968: 268-274, 307. D410.C82, v. 54

The roles of the Atlantic alliance and rearmament in West German military policy are being subjected to financial and political pressures that could transform the very nature of the Bundeswehr. After the Erhard regime was toppled by a financial crisis, which resulted in part from Erhard's refusal to abandon plans to expand the Bundeswehr, his successor Kurt Kiesinger began to work toward a policy of more military cooperation with France and détente with the East. The effect of this policy will be to reduce West Germany's defensive role in the Atlantic partnership; heavy arms purchases are likely to decline, the army will probably be transformed into a smaller force, and some streamlining of the defense bureaucracy can be expected. Whether the Federal Republic will build a nationally oriented force as opposed to an alliance oriented force is difficult to determine. The fact is that West Germany is becoming disillusioned with France's and America's defense policies. These policies have erased much hope for a West European commonwealth by maintaining the old external controls over the German potential that were part of the structured political

world of the early 1950's, which has "given way to a chaotic playground of forces."

1552

Miksche, Ferdinand O. **THE FUTURE OF THE MEDITERRANEAN AND THE SECURITY OF WESTERN EUROPE.** NATO's fifteen nations, v. 13, Feb./Mar. 1968: 26-29, 32. illus.

UA646.F5, v. 13

The Near East crisis has proved that the Soviet pan-Slavic threat is still with us. It is not the defensive lines inside Europe that are endangered, however, but political and economic positions outside the Continent. The Mediterranean and the Near East are vital geopolitical areas for Europe, and the fate of the Continent is more likely to be decided between the Persian Gulf and Morocco than the Baltic and the Adriatic. Nevertheless, a strong shield in Europe is still essential. Soviet proposals to dissolve military blocs on both sides aim only at weakening the West. For economic reasons, the United States is considering a transatlantic airlift as a substitute for stationing troops in Europe. Since such a strategy cannot succeed, it would be more honest of the United States to tell the Europeans outright that soon they will be on their own. French withdrawal from NATO has split the alliance in two and accelerated its decline. The French would like to go it alone but are too weak, as is every other European state acting singly. It is not the United States that deprives European states of their military independence but their own smallness. The need for an internally balanced and integrated European defense community is greater than ever, but Europe, weary after 20 years of vigilance, is unwilling to continue its defense efforts at the present levels, much less increase them.

1553

Montfort, Colonel-divisionnaire. **[WHAT'S NEW AT NATO?]** A l'OTAN, quoi de nouveau? Revue militaire suisse, v. 113, Apr. 1968: 153-157.

U2.R5, v. 113

In the light of tactical nuclear weapons the reduction of the U.S. Air Force's NATO contingent will not adversely affect the alliance. The doctrine of flexible response precludes any serious conventional defense of Western Europe against aggression from the East. Because the West is outnumbered in conventional forces it must outweigh the East in nuclear forces.

1554

O'Ballance, Edgar. **WORLD STRATEGIC PICTURE: THE ARMED FORCES OF BELGIUM.** Cosantóir, the Irish defence journal, v. 28, May 1968: 137-143.

U1.C8, v. 28

"Republished from 'General Military Review,' Jan. 1968. U2.R48

Reviews Belgium's armed forces in the light of that country's strategic position in the NATO alliance. Belgium's Army, Navy, and Air Force together number 111,000, of which 34 percent are volunteers on short-service engagements. O'Ballance concludes that the forces will play an important role in case of a Russian attack; they should be able to hold it off in their sectors.

1555

**THE ORSEC PLAN, ITS STRUCTURE AND IMPLEMENTATION.** International civil defence, no. 154, Apr. 1968: 265-267. UA926.I488, 1968

# ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

Surveys the development and structure, including financing, of France's ORSEC (Organization des Secours) plan. ORSEC organizes relief work in "large-scale disasters beyond the scope of local communities."

1556

Past, Nino. OPINIONS ON NATO NUCLEAR STRATEGY. NATO's fifteen nations, v. 13, Feb./Mar. 1968: 20-24. UA646.F5, v. 13

NATO military strategy is built upon the three different families of weapons available to the alliance. Strategic nuclear weapons are used to deter the enemy from employing his own strategic arsenal. Effective deterrence rests on the ability of NATO to maintain a militarily and politically credible strategic threat. On this level, U.S. cooperation in the defense of Europe is absolutely essential. The decision to use nuclear weapons will be the prerogative of the American President, though machinery is available for all NATO members to participate in planning and consultation. The defect of strategic nuclear weapons is that they provide no defense against low-level threats. Tactical nuclear weapons are designed for use at this level, but they are far too destructive for this role in Europe. These weapons have a deterrent function similar to the strategic arsenal: to prevent aggression, or halt it once it has begun. Conventional forces must be of sufficient strength to compel the enemy to make his attack on such a scale that the attack would itself justify the retaliatory use of nuclear weapons. This is the answer to the "fait accompli" theory. By the maintenance of conventional forces adequate to this requirement, and a firm decision to oppose and liquidate any minor Soviet incursion, NATO can build an effective European defense.

1557

Peeters, Paul L. [THE CONCEPT OF DETERRENCE AND THE FUTURE OF NATO] Das Abschreckungskonzept und die Zukunft der NATO. Wehrkunde, v. 17, Apr. 1968: 178-180. U3.W396, v. 17

The worldwide interplay of political factors has a much stronger bearing on military strategy today than ever before. Modern strategy rests on passive as well as active deterrence. Passive deterrence, a phenomenon of the nuclear age, causes the superpowers to reappraise and "depreciate" their interests each time a danger of mutual strategic confrontation becomes imminent. To be most effective in terms of the available deterrent NATO must strongly rely on the presence of substantial American forces in Europe and on U.S. nuclear weapons. Exclusive control over these weapons should remain with the United States. However, American policy should accept the existence of the French force de frappe instead of "agitating against it." At the same time it should take steps to prevent this force from ever being used independently of NATO. While reformulation of the basic concept of NATO may be necessary, no radical change in the relation between NATO and the United States is needed.

1558

Perrot-Gentil, Jacques. [WARSAW PACT FORCES HOLD MAJOR EXERCISES] Les grandes manoeuvres des forces du Pacte de Varsovie [by] J. Perrot [pseud.] Est & ouest, v. 20, Mar. 31, 1968: 16-19. D639.A822, v. 20

Neither peaceful coexistence nor nuclear weapons are deterring the Warsaw Pact nations from increasing their conventional forces. The 1966 Warsaw Pact maneuvers throughout Eastern Europe demonstrated that the Communists do not trust the West and continue to view NATO as an enemy. These operations also gave the Russians an opportunity to develop new techniques in logistics and communications. In 1967 further military exercises were held in the Ukraine despite a thaw in Russian-American relations. There is little doubt that because of their politico-military strategy the Communists will intervene in Western Europe should the opportunity arise.

1559

Pesce, Livio. WHY EUROPE FEARS THE RUSSIAN NAVY. Atlas, v. 16, July 1968: 29-30, 63-64. APl.A83, v. 16

"Translated from Epoca, Milan,"  
Newspaper

The Russian Navy is shifting the strategic balance of power in the Mediterranean in its favor, as evidenced by its Mediterranean fleet on NATO's southern flank; in one year the number of Russian warships there has increased fourfold. For Italy, three-quarters of whose territory extends into the Mediterranean, the Russian Navy could threaten not only its merchant marine but also its vital economic trade links with the rest of the world. It is improbable that the Russians will directly attack anyone in the area, but their arming of the Communist and neutral states along the littoral and their increasing influence over the policies of these states are causes of great concern for the southern NATO countries. Italy would do well to increase the size and strength of its Navy in the face of the Russian threat instead of publishing articles warning of the danger and entrusting its fate to its "Star of Fortune."

1560

Petrov, M. [THE AIRCRAFT CARRIER OF THE PENTAGON] Avianosets Pentagona. Sovetskii voen, v. 50, Mar. 1968: 46-47. U4.S645, v. 50

Japan occupies a central place in the military base system in the Pacific. Under cover of the U.S.-Japanese security treaty of 1960 the Pentagon has established over 200 air, missile, and naval bases on the Japanese islands. These bases provide the Americans with airfields, storage facilities, dockyards, and supplies for the Vietnam War and serve as administrative centers for underground and espionage activities against Asian states. American strategists are attempting to involve Japan in the Vietnam War, and leading Japanese circles, which favor strong armed forces, approved an increased defense budget of 350 billion yen in 1967. According to military authorities "Japanese industry will adjust itself within 5 to 10 years to the production of its own nuclear arms," despite the protests of Japanese democratic forces.

1561

THE PLACE WHERE IT HURTS. Economist, v. 227, May 18, 1968: 17-19. HG11.E2, v. 227

Argues that owing to Czechoslovakia's strategic importance to the Soviet Union, greater than South Vietnam's and the Middle East's, Moscow would not permit that nation to withdraw from the Warsaw Pact.

## II. THE STRATEGIC ENVIRONMENT

1562

Raven, Wolfram von. [THE END OF DETENTE: DRAMATIC CHANGES IN NUCLEAR STRATEGY] Das Ende der Entspannung; dramatische Wandlungen der Nuklear-Strategie. Politische Meinung, v. 13, no. 1, 1968: 15-26. H5.P75, v. 13

The proposed nonproliferation treaty provides for elimination of horizontal, but not vertical, proliferation, thus aiming at protection of only the strong. And Moscow-Washington concord on the treaty by no means portends an end to the Soviet-U.S. nuclear arms race. Only a year ago a second-strike capability appeared to be the ultimate in deterrence against the first nuclear strike and a strong reason for stabilization of the superpower nuclear armaments on that level. But deployment of a Soviet ABM system prompted the United States to prepare deployment of its own. This change has reduced the deterrence value of the superpowers' second-strike capabilities, deprived the balance-of-terror strategy of its most important rationale, and restored the long-lost value of the first-strike potential in relations between the two powers. In a serious Soviet-American conflict the side that forestalls the other by dealing the first thermonuclear strike would save at least 50 million of its people's lives. This hypothesis may be inaccurate, but the magnitude of the premium it puts on the first strike is justified. Soviet policy in regard to arms control agreements has long served to drowse the West's alertness to a first strike. According to 1963 estimates the Soviet Union would have to surpass the United States in total number of missiles by a ratio of 4 to 1 to venture the first strike. "A small circle of experts" has warned, however, that Moscow could develop sure-hit missiles within 5 years. The dynamic development of technology has allowed an impressive refinement of American nuclear weapons, but at the expense of their yield. Some experts believe that this "megaton gap" can give Moscow a chance to venture a devastating first strike even with an arsenal much smaller than the American.

1563

Réchin, Paul. [PROBLEMS OF ENVIRONMENT] Questions d'ambiance. Revue militaire générale, Apr. 1968: 530-542. U2.R48, 1968

Tactical instruction should be accompanied by a wide use of films in order to acclimate the soldier to a specific environment--nuclear, conventional, biological, or chemical. Military men must be trained in these environments and kept in a specific one as protection from surprises and psychoses. The use of films, accompanied by commentary and discussion, is the only means for creating a conventional or nuclear environment. Dummy fire and the use of local terrains do not create a real feeling of danger. In chemical and biological warfare, soldiers must be made to understand that they may be attacked by hitherto unknown chemical agents.

1564

REFLECTIONS ON THE QUARTER: THE STRATEGIC AND CREDIBILITY GAPS. Orbis, v. 11, winter 1968: 968-970. D639.O68, v. 11

Conflicting statements about U.S. and Russian strategic capabilities indicate that U.S. policymakers disagree about the effectiveness of Soviet ICBM's. Although Under Secretary of Defense Paul Nitze testified that one-half of the Soviet ICBM force will consist

of low-yield, less accurate missiles by 1973, Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara noted that the U.S. Sentinel system would be Chinese-oriented, because it could not be effective against a sophisticated high-yield Soviet offense. John S. Foster, Director of Research and Engineering, stated that if the United States is to maintain a strategic superiority it will have to deploy 1,000 more missiles than originally planned a few years ago. In addition he believes that the Russians have emphasized bombs of smaller yield and that, if the United States is to provide an assured destruction capability, it will have to emphasize smaller yields. The disparity between these evaluations of Russian strategic capabilities does not instill confidence in U.S. strategic capabilities nor does it "prevent the Soviet Union from making use of its growing military force in political-psychological warfare designed to erode U.S. influence around the world."

1565

Sanakoev, S. RELIABLE GUARANTEE; WARSAW TREATY ON GUARD OF SOCIALISM AND PEACE. Daily review, translations from the Soviet press, v. 14, June 17, 1968: pt. 2, [item] 2, 1-6. Slav Rm

Translated from *Izvestia*, June 15, 1968. Slav Rm

The Soviet Union and the other East European Communist countries are coordinating their efforts to establish a European security system. The main obstacle to this endeavor is NATO. The Warsaw Treaty Organization (WTO), established to counteract NATO's aggressive plans, and the subsequently concluded bilateral mutual assistance treaties between the East European countries opened fresh possibilities of economic and cultural cooperation, consolidated the world Communist movement, and guaranteed the borders of the countries as well as their national independence. Leaders of the Western bloc were naturally alarmed. Without abandoning their old imperialistic methods of war in Vietnam, the intensification of the arms race in the NATO countries, and increases in military expenditures, they have applied "peaceful methods" of anticommunist struggle and a new "bridge building policy" in order to undermine the Socialist community from within. But now NATO is in a crisis. After the withdrawal of France the other West European countries tried to free themselves from U.S. dictates and get rid of U.S. monopolies. Despite these difficulties NATO is still a great danger for Eastern Europe because it has restored militarism and revanchism in West Germany, built up that country's economic potential, and turned it into a leading military power. Under these circumstances the consolidation and improvement of WTO, especially in defense, the unity and cohesion of the Socialist countries, and coordinated foreign policy actions within WTO go far beyond ensuring peace in Europe and have become an important factor in the consolidation of world peace and security.

1566

Speed, F. W. AUSTRALIAN NEWS-LETTER: AUSTRALIA IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA. Army quarterly, v. 96, Apr. 1968: 30-37. illus. UL A85, v. 96

The withdrawal of British forces from Southeast Asia will have a tremendous impact upon Australian defense policy. Located on the periphery of Southeast Asia, Australia has long depended upon the protection

afforded by the British presence in and around the area. Now it must cope virtually alone with the problem of protecting an area roughly the size of the United States and inhabited by only 12 million people. In view of its limited resources and the growing nationalism in South-east Asia, most policymakers agree that the future "security of Australia and its territories is best assured less by military excursion than by contributing to the development of order and economic progress in the South-East Asia region." While Australia is not capable alone of deciding the fate of the Asian Continent, it can play a major role in establishing friendly and stable regimes by contributing to economic development programs and helping to thwart the efforts of Communist Residents. Although it will probably depend upon the United States for assistance in its new role, it "is no less nationalistic than the emerging states of South-East Asia" and does not intend to be dominated by the United States.

1567

Stillman, Richard J. TRAINING OF DEFENSE LEADERS. Pt. 1. THE NATO DEFENSE COLLEGE. NATO's fifteen nations, v. 13, Feb./Mar. 1968: 53-54, 56-61. illus. UA646. F5, v. 13  
Includes a general introduction to the three-part series.

A comparative study of the effectiveness of the NATO Defense College and the U.S. National War College. Part I relates the history and describes the organization of the NATO Defense College, evaluates its faculty and student body, and indicates the major problems encountered in the operation of the high-level, multinational defense training school. The overall quality of the school is determined primarily by the separate NATO states through their appointment of students and faculty. European states with large military establishments have most often sent highly qualified appointees while the United States has consistently appointed officers of lower quality. This seems to reflect the greater significance of NATO to the total defense posture of European states.

1568

Thomson, George G. BRITAIN'S PLAN TO LEAVE ASIA: AN UNCERTAIN FUTURE FOR SINGAPORE. Round table, the Commonwealth quarterly, no. 230, Apr. 1968: 117-125. AP4.R6, 1968

The British withdrawal from Singapore is part of the logic of the new nationalism in Asia, the British return from an imperial to a national role, and the end of a Europe-centered world. The gradual withdrawal, although not yet categorical, indicates an uncertain future for Singapore and will require a realistic readjustment of Great Britain and the affected Asian countries. The paramount problem is that the withdrawal will create a power vacuum in the Indian Ocean, which lies between the American-dominated Pacific and the Mediterranean, where Russia is building a power position parallel to that of the United States. With the British withdrawal set for 1971 Singapore must soon face the problem of self-defense. That can be achieved only if Britain decides to play a part in the establishment of a future joint air defense for Singapore and Malaysia and a new pattern of alliances is developed both in the Commonwealth and within the Association of Southeast Asian Nations.

1569

Ward, Seamus. STRATEGIC MISSILES AND THE ANTI-BALLISTIC MISSILE: A SURVEY AND COMPARISON OF NUCLEAR CAPABILITIES. Cosantóir, the Irish defence journal, v. 28, Apr. 1968: 97-100. illus. UL.C9, v. 28

Although the nuclear arms race between the United States and the Soviet Union had slackened off somewhat with the advent of satellite reconnaissance in the mid-sixties, Russia's subsequent increases in offensive missile strength and its deployment of an ABM system triggered demands among many Americans for commensurate increases in U.S. strategic capability. The United States first reacted by ordering the replacement of the Polaris missile on 31 of its 41 nuclear submarines with the more powerful Poseidon and the installation of an improved ICBM, the Minuteman III. Secretary of Defense McNamara maintained that these improvements in offensive capacity would more than adequately protect the credibility of the U.S. deterrent. However, the Joint Chiefs of Staff advocated additional insurance in the form of an ABM system. With public opinion on their side, the Joint Chiefs won, and the President authorized the deployment of a limited missile defense system. While the U.S. decision was logical in view of Russian defensive activities, many technical problems will have to be overcome before the effectiveness of the U.S. ABM system is assured. Possibly the present system will have to be radically changed to meet the challenge of Russian multiple warheads and boost glide missiles. On several occasions in the past America has been forced to support a tremendously costly weapons turnover to maintain the credibility of its deterrent.

1570

Witze, Claude. DETERRENCE IS STILL THE PRIME MISSION. Air Force and space digest, v. 51, June 1968: 45-48. illus. UG633.A65, v. 51

With many of its manned strategic systems in use in Vietnam, the Strategic Air Command (SAC) relies heavily upon the Minuteman to carry out its prime mission -- deterrence against the Soviet Union. Although SAC continues to adhere to the mixed force concept, the Minuteman now dominates the force structure. Thus, while a large portion of SAC's manned forces may be diverted to tactical missions in the general purpose forces, the 1,000 Minutemen now in inventory remain on constant guard at home. The nearly 1,500 launch control officers that man the six Minuteman bases are subjected to the same strict requirements that distinguish SAC aircrews. Virtually cut off from the outside world during their duty hours, the "silo sitters" must maintain a constant alert by their machines. Because of the strain of the environment, strict precautions are taken to prevent an unauthorized firing by any one launch control officer.

1571

Yool, W. M. AEROSPACE AFFAIRS. Army quarterly, v. 96, Apr. 1968: 18-21. UL.A85, v. 96

In line with recent defense cuts, British forces will be confined to a principally European role in the next decade. With the cancellation of the F-111 long-range bombers and the phasing out of the Canberras, V-bombers, and long-range transports, the Royal Air

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Force (RAF) will have become almost entirely a tactical support force by 1975. In the Government's estimation improvements in ICBM's and antiaircraft defenses will have rendered long-distance bombers obsolete by that time. Although the Government has decided to give up the option of a major conventional war, the Air Force will still be equipped to provide tactical support in the European theater. It will maintain a medium-range transport force and by 1975 should have about 150 Phantoms, 100 Anglo-French Jaguars, 60 Harriers, 100 Lightnings, and 50 Buccaneers. A number of British defense officials are concerned over the abandonment of the RAF's long-range capabilities; however, it does have the advantage of encouraging collaboration between Britain and its European allies in designing military aircraft suited to the needs of Europe, thus reducing dependency on U.S. aircraft.

### D. CONSEQUENCES OF NATIONAL DEFENSE POLICIES AND WAR

#### 1. Biological

1572

Hersh, Seymour M. **CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL WARFARE: AMERICA'S HIDDEN ARSENAL.** Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill [1968] 354 p. UG447. H42

Contents. --Table of chemical and biological agents. --The history of chemical and biological warfare. --America first: CBW policy today. --The chemicals. --The biologicals. --The secret bases. --CBW in combat: Vietnam. --The CBW boosters. --College presidents and board chairmen: the CBW research establishment. --The making of a science. --What other countries are doing. --The problems of disarmament. --Chapter notes. --Index.

Criticizes and exposes America's role in the production of chemical and biological weapons. Included are accounts of the myriad professional agencies that are involved in the chemical and biological weapons process. Hersh notes that large and small nations may turn to chemical weapons if there is an agreement to ban nuclear weapons. Treaties and verification systems will be needed to curb the biological-chemical arms race, but Hersh concludes that it may already be too late for any resolution of the problem.

1573

ON THE USE OF HERBICIDES IN VIETNAM. *Science*, v. 161, July 19, 1968: 253-256. Q1.S35, v. 161

Contents. --A statement by the Board of Directors of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. --Supplementary statements by some members of the board of directors. --Herbicides in the perspectives of 20 months and 20 years, by John A. Wheeler.

Comments by representatives of the scientific community regarding the Government's use of herbicides in Vietnam. After reviewing the Government-sponsored Midwest Research Institute report assessing the ecological effects of herbicides together with evaluations of the report, the board of directors of the association expressed concern over the long-term environmental consequences of large-scale deployment of herbicides. They urged suspension of the use of arsenical herbi-

cides in Vietnam until their effects are better known and recommended that a field study be undertaken under U.N. auspices to analyze the long-range effects of herbicidal agents and determine the precautions needed to assure future productivity of the affected areas. Several board members advocated entirely stopping the military use of herbicides, including 2, 4-D and 2, 4, 5-T, because they anticipate hazards from the use of all herbicidal chemicals. Other individuals on the board agreed with the Defense Department position that defoliants were not unduly harmful to the environment and stated the board's recommendation for a U.N.-sponsored field study on herbicides was politically unfeasible. According to Wheeler, available information on herbicides indicates an adequate safety margin for continuing their use in Vietnam and, by projecting "worst cases" for each imaginable situation, sufficient precautions can be taken to avoid disastrous consequences. Furthermore he notes the experimental value of the operation in Vietnam and indicates that the final decision to continue it rests with the people of South Vietnam, not the United States.

1574

RADIATION ANTIDOTE SOUGHT. In Canada. *Dept. of External Affairs. Information Division. Canadian weekly bulletin*, v. 23, May 29, 1968: 2. F1034.A3, v. 23

Describes the search by a team of scientists from the National Research Council of Canada for an antidote for the treatment of persons who have received excessive doses of radiation. Calcium chloride may provide the answer. Experiments are also being carried out with a compound named Versene which reduces the calcium level in the body.

1575

Smith, Peter J. **GERM WARFARE: THE PLAGUES OF FORT DETRICK.** *Spectator*, v. 220, June 28, 1968: 886-887. AP4.S7, v. 220

Traces the history and nature of America's chemical and biological warfare (CBW) effort. Smith reveals that during the Kennedy years CBW became the beneficiary of a rethinking in military strategy; mutual nuclear deterrence reduced America's freedom of action, and a new weapon that would increase its flexibility in foreign affairs was needed. The author surveys American CBW installations, noting that Britain's CBW effort is minute compared to America's. He concludes that the growing opposition to CBW is caused not by concern for its inhumanity per se, but rather its involvement with the universities, since secret military contracts to colleges clash with the view of a university as a forum of free speech and discussion.

1576

TOO HORRIBLE TO USE? *Newsweek*, v. 71, June 3, 1968: 58-59. illus. AP2.N6772, v. 71

Discusses chemical and biological weapons from the seemingly crude chlorine gas used in World War I to today's VX nerve gas, a drop of which can kill in minutes. The sophistication of gases, evidence of man's inhumanity as well as his ingenuity, has reached a frightening stage: an ounce of botulinum toxin could kill as many as 60 million people. Seymour M. Hersh, in his book *Chemical and Biological Warfare*, notes that the Army lets contracts to universities, industry, and private research institutions. In fact chemical and biological warfare (CBW) research is a giant complex

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that is budgeted at more than \$300 million per year, and the CBW effort will continue to grow as long as the mirror-image logic of global confrontation--that if the Russians have CBW then the United States must also--exists.

### 2. Economic

1877

AFTER VIET NAM. Nation's business, v. 56, July 1968: 64-68. HFI, N4, v. 56

Reviews ways that the U.S. economy could adjust to a cessation of the Vietnam War. People and companies are prepared for this eventuality, but defense spending will remain at or near current levels because the war has altered the military's equipment needs and continued world tensions will necessitate maintaining a strong peacetime military force.

1578

Albrecht, Ulrich. [APPLIED ECONOMICS AND THE CONFLICT THEORY AS EXEMPLIFIED BY THE AIRCRAFT INDUSTRY] Praktische Sozialökonomie und Konflikttheorie am Beispiel der Luftfahrtindustrie. Atomzeitalter; Information und Meinung, Apr. 1968: 176-186. diagr. P&G PR

Imprecise terminology and arbitrary data pose the main difficulties in the controversy on the economic impact of the defense industry. Leontief's input-output matrix opened the possibility for the authoritative quantifications of processes; but statistical data are still inadequate, so the method cannot be applied in practice. Some relatively authoritative studies seem to confirm that the National Aeronautics and Space Administration and Atomic Energy Commission research commissioned by the U.S. Defense Department has "no commercial potential" and that the aerospace industry's defense sector's output effect on economic growth is nil, while input effect is substantial. Government financing has made capital turnover in defense industry twice as fast as that of civilian industry. Consequently private investments in defense industry bring higher yields. But the monopoly associated with defense industry gives the state far-reaching and decisive influence over the industry and related markets. The size of the American aerospace industry allows for cheaper production, which is reflected in its costs progress curve. The prices of American aircraft on the world market are unbeatable. West Germany should proceed with concentration of its aerospace industry and work out adequate national research and development strategy.

1579

Andxel, Ruth. [IMPERIALISM--STATE FINANCES, ARMAMENTS, WAR; PROBLEMS OF FINANCING THE ARMAMENTS OF GERMAN IMPERIALISM] Imperialismus--Staatsfinanzen, Rüstung, Krieg; Probleme der Rüstungsfinanzierung des deutschen Imperialismus. Berlin, Akademie-Verlag, 1968, 208 p. (Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Schriften des Instituts für Wirtschaftswissenschaften, Nr. 25) HD9743. G48A7

Partial contents. --Main methods of financing World War I in Germany. --Problems of financing armaments and war under the specific conditions of the Fascist system of government. --The beginning and develop-

ment of West German rearmament. --Peculiarities of West German rearmament. --Causes of its delay. --Specific conditions for and prerequisites of West German production of weapons. --Tendencies in and effects of further rearmament of West Germany. --The financing of West German armaments. --The role and development of armaments expenditures in the state budget. --The transition to methods of deficit financing in the state budget. --Effects of armaments financing.

Contents that disproportionately large defense expenditures in the West German state budget cause inflation coupled with increased concentration and centralization of economic power in the hands of monopolies. This leads to further consolidation of the "state monopolistic system" and widens the abyss between the "policy of monopolies" and the interests of the entire population.

1580

Andrews, Walter. PENTAGON WRESTLES WITH HUGE BUDGET CUTS. Aerospace technology, v. 21, June 17, 1968: 13-14. UG630. M54, v. 21

Estimates effects on military projects of the contemplated \$2 to \$3 billion cut in the defense budget. The leading candidates for cuts or deferrals appear to be ABM systems, new aircraft defense systems, and space projects, including a possible cut of at least 10 percent in the manned orbiting laboratory. Although research and development efforts will probably receive the heaviest reductions, the cutbacks will also affect the support and improvement of operational systems, including the entire range of strategic aircraft and Titan II and Poseidon missile forces.

1581

Bayless, Glenn. LAUNCHED BY THE NAVY: A NEW ERA IN SHIPBUILDING. Armed Forces Journal, v. 105, July 27, 1968: 6-7, 27, 29. UL A66, v. 105

Under the leadership of Secretary Paul R. Ignatius the U.S. Navy is revolutionizing its procurement techniques. By replacing its old policies of in-house design and distribution of work among many contractors on a one-at-a-time basis with total package multiyear procurement policies, the Navy hopes to increase shipboard efficiency and stimulate the development of a progressive and profitable shipbuilding industry. Although at first some shipbuilders opposed the new approach for fear that unsuccessful bidders would go out of business, many firms have now responded to the additional requirements by streamlining their management techniques and improving their engineering capabilities. Three major shipbuilding programs emphasizing consolidation of mission and standardization of design have already been initiated. Litton Systems has been awarded the development and production contract for the new general purpose amphibious assault ships and is competing with General Dynamics and Bath Iron Works for the design of a new series of destroyers. Litton also provided the most acceptable design for the fast deployment logistic ship and will begin negotiating a production contract once congressional approval is forthcoming. While the initial costs of the new procurement techniques are higher than those of the old piecemeal approach, the long-term benefits to ship performance and maintenance and to private industry are expected to more than compensate for the added expense.

## II. THE STRATEGIC ENVIRONMENT

1582

Burck, Gilbert. HOW BIG A "PEACE DIVIDEND"? Fortune, v. 77, June 1, 1968: 86-89, 156-167.  
HF500L F7, v. 77

The easy assumption that the \$28-billion Vietnam war budget will soon be available to ease the fiscal crises, the balance-of-payments crises, and the human crises of America's cities is wrong. No significant drop in military spending is now expected until 1970--even if a cease-fire takes effect soon after the November elections. Most of the Defense Department's biggest procurement contracts--for aircraft, missiles, ships, electronics, and communications--will not be much affected by an end to the war. The only industries that will be hit sharply are clothing and textiles (where about 55,000 extra jobs were created by government orders for military garb) and munitions manufacturing (where about 225,000 jobs are at stake). In fact, no expert now expects defense spending to ever get back to the pre-Vietnam level; optimists say it could level out at \$60 billion, others put the figure closer to \$75 billion. (Abstract supplied)

1583

Culver, John C. FOREIGN AID IN DECLINE: THE NEED FOR A FRESH START. Round table, the Commonwealth quarterly, no. 230, Apr. 1968: 143-150, AF4.R6, 1968

Although the financially generous Marshall plan was widely accepted and supported 20 years ago, public support for the foreign aid program is declining and there is a very narrow margin of tolerance in congressional support. The total appropriation for this year is just under \$2.3 billion as compared to \$4.3 billion in 1961 and \$3.25 billion in 1965. In 1968 America will not spend more than 0.5 percent of its gross national product on economic aid, in sharp contrast to 2.75 percent in 1949. Similar development can be traced in other countries. Public opinion polls have registered a steady decline in public support due to dissatisfaction with methods applied and doubts of the program's efficacy. Moreover the disparities between defense and foreign aid spending are constantly and rapidly widening. The ratio is now approximately 25 to 1. Even if the Vietnam War ends, the amount saved will probably not be applied to foreign aid, because it does not possess in the public mind the tangible values of bigger defense. It is much easier to pass a \$12 billion supplemental bill for defense than a \$500 million bill for foreign aid. And yet economic development is closely connected with security, and economic growth might prevent military involvements of the Western countries. If the foreign aid program is to survive it will require a fresh strategy, a new assessment of the potentials and sources of international assistance, and increased public and private assistance, perhaps doubled in 1975. What is needed is experience and a sober realization in the recipient countries of what can realistically be achieved, rather than a structural reordering of the aid administration.

1584

Franklin, William D. INPUT-OUTPUT: TOOL FOR DECISION. In U.S. Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Military review, v. 48, June 1968: 38-49. Z6723.U35, v. 48

Modern war is as much a contest of industrial economies as of armed forces, and this state of affairs has put a premium on the ability of a nation to mobilize its

economic resources and facilities quickly and efficiently. Unfortunately a complex modern economy makes the difficulties of mobilization planning almost insuperable. The most formidable difficulty is comprehending those interrelations of autonomous economic units that have arisen because most firms depend on the outputs of other firms as inputs to their own productive processes. Input-output analysis is a mathematical technique devised to deal with this range of programming problems. To date it has been used mainly to measure the impact of national defense programs on the economy as a whole. This was the case with the "emergency model" drawn up for the rearmament program of the early 1950's. Used in this way, the technique is one of the most important tools of strategic analysis. It provides the planner with a set of rationally structured alternatives based on a knowledge of the probable consequences of each. In the nuclear age choosing the right strategic alternative may mean the difference between survival and death.

1585

[THE FRENCH AEROSPACE INDUSTRY, 1967/68] Die französische Luftfahrtindustrie, 1967/68. Wehr und Wirtschaft, v. 12, Apr. 20, 1968: 195.  
U3.W39, v. 12

Outlines the industry's international market situation and points out the problem of finding new markets for its military sector within the next decade.

1586

Galper, Harvey, and Edward Gramlich. A TECHNIQUE FOR FORECASTING DEFENSE EXPENDITURES. Review of economics and statistics, v. 50, May 1968: 143-155. HAL.R35, v. 50

Suggests a method of forecasting quarterly defense expenditures. Inaccurate forecasts lead to multiplied errors in predicting the gross national product and can result in inappropriate policy decisions. Galper and Gramlich have developed a forecasting method that uses two Department of Defense series as indicators to predict quarterly expenditures on a national income accounts basis. They also have attempted to throw some light on the award-expenditure lag, its relationship to military and economic conditions, and the nature of inventory buildups associated with defense spending.

1587

Glukhov, Iurii. NATO COIL SPRING. Daily review, translations from the Soviet press, v. 14, June 12, 1968: pt. 2, [item] 3, 1-3.

Slav Rm

Translated from Pravda, June 12, 1968.

Slav Rm

An "experimental consultative meeting of industrialists" of the NATO member countries, held in Brussels in May 1968, was attended by 60 industrialists as well as government representatives. The obvious aim of the meeting was to preserve NATO, in which the monopolies dictate the bloc's policy and have succeeded in maintaining wartime economic conditions in peacetime. In 1967 the military expenditures of the NATO countries reached almost \$100 billion, more than five times the 1949 expenditures. The profits of the member countries' industries grew considerably. The lion's share of the profits went to the United States, which has almost a monopoly in the NATO arms market. The West European countries annually pay the United

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States one billion dollars. The upkeep of American troops on West German territory is compensated for by the sale of American arms to the Bundeswehr. Under these conditions the monopolies understandably ignore the peoples' aspirations for relaxation of tensions, abolition of NATO, and a collective security system in Europe and jealously uphold the arms race.

1568

Gross-Talmon, Paul. [THE GERMAN AFROSPACE INDUSTRY, 1968] Die deutsche Luft- und Raumfahrt-Industrie 1968 [by] grt. Wehr und Wirtschaft, v. 12, Apr. 20, 1968: 150-155. illus.  
U3.W38, v. 12

Analyzes the current reorganization of the West German aerospace industry from an economic standpoint. Gross-Talmon considers the industry's competitiveness underdeveloped owing to its overdependence on defense contracts.

1569

Hart, Albert C., and others. PREDICAMENTS OF PEACE. Harper's magazine, v. 236, June 1968: 86-88, 90-91.  
AP2.H3, v. 236

A collection of views by five experts--Albert G. Hart, Hans J. Morgenthau, Christopher Green, Joseph A. Pechman, and Leonard C. Lewin--on what will happen to the American economy after the Vietnam War ends. Comments are centered on Walter Heller's thesis that resources now committed to the war could be used for less destructive purposes. All the experts agree that war is not necessary for economic well-being.

1570

HOW WILL PEACE AFFECT AEROSPACE STOCKS? Magazine of Wall Street and business analyst, v. 121, July 8, 1968: 14-16, 43.  
HG4501.M3, v. 122

Asserts peace in Vietnam will have no long-term adverse effects upon the earnings of aerospace companies. While 10 percent of the companies' annual revenue is now related to the Vietnam War, losses incurred by the cessation of hostilities will more than be offset by the revitalization of strategic defense and space projects and by growing demands for commercial aircraft. Revenue from Government contracts for such enormous projects as the Minuteman III, ASM system, amphibious assault ships, DX Navy destroyer, and Poseidon submarine-launched missile should far exceed the \$3 billion in sales the aerospace industry gets yearly from the war. In addition the financial effects of a peace settlement will be cushioned by industry involvement in the supersonic transport, airbus, and 747 jumbo-jet programs.

1591

IMPACT OF PEACE. Economist, v. 227, Apr. 13, 1968: 25.  
HG11.E2, v. 227

Discusses the impact of the Vietnam War on the United States economy. Since contracts related to the war are widespread, transition from a "semi-war economy" will be relatively easy once the war ends.

1592

Kozovoi, M. IRON HEEL: INDUSTRIAL-MILITARY COMPLEX, MASTER OF DOLLAR EMPIRE. Daily

review, translations from the Soviet press, v. 14, Apr. 18, 1968: pt. 2, [item] 1, 1-6.

Slav Rm

Translated from Izvestia, Apr. 17, 1968.

Slav Rm

The real aims of U.S. imperialism, allegedly concerned with "prosperity for all," is world hegemony. Every conflict emerging in one or another part of the globe is supported by the U.S. alliance of capital and the military. The role of war is to ensure anti-Communist "order" in the tense spots on earth and to provide American corporations with profitable military orders by encouraging a permanent arms race. The Wall Street armaments monopolies are the most expansionist, but the initiative is shifting ever more to the Middle Western, Pacific Coast, and Texas rocketry, electronics, and other military products concerns. Finance and industrial executives are appointed to the office of defense secretary, and retired generals take up positions in corporations. The "creative democracy" is turning into a "militarized society." The "war on poverty" program has been replaced by the Vietnam War, which swallows up about \$25 billion a year, while the U.S. Congress has rejected a proposal to allocate several hundred million dollars for annihilating rats in the slums. The military-industrial complex is responsible for the Vietnam failures, U.S. internal struggles, and the currency crisis. The monopolization of production and intensification of social hostilities in capitalist society call for revolutionary social changes, which "the iron heel" of the monopolies cannot stop.

1593

La Fond, Charles D. THE HIDDEN ACE IN THE U.S. SPACE EFFORT: MILITARY PROJECTS GROW DESPITE NASA CUTS. Electronic design, v. 16, July 4, 1968: 36-43. illus.  
TK7800.E437, v. 16

"Second article on Government-contractor relations." See item nos. 1597 and 1598 in this bibliography for 1st and 3d articles.

Examines the outlook for electronics specialists engaged in the Nation's space efforts. Although most National Aeronautics and Space Administration officials predict a 5-year period of austerity before major expansion in the civilian space effort, the cutbacks will principally affect those engaged in the launch and propulsion areas and not those in the electronics field. Since the military space effort is expected to rise in order to maintain America's strategic superiority, any engineers that are displaced from civil space programs can transfer to military projects. Current trends in the total space effort could be altered by changes in budget priorities and defense requirements, but at this time most experts anticipate an upsurge in funding within the next decade.

1594

McCarthy, Terrence. WHAT THE VIETNAM WAR HAS COST. New university thought, v. 6, summer 1968: [1] 1-18.  
D639.N484, v. 6

An assessment of the economic and political costs of the Vietnam War. Direct military expenditures together with the sale of Government assets and the depletion of military inventories make up only a part of the economic costs of the war. To this total must be added the cost to the Nation of distortions introduced into employment patterns and the credit structure, the diversion of badly needed resources from civilian use, the reduction of consumer purchasing power through

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inflation, the growth of the Federal budget deficit, and the aggravation of the balance-of-payments problem. But the political costs are more grave than the economic ones. The war has deprived the United States of its world position while at the same time enabling the Soviet Union to strengthen its economic, military, and political influence everywhere.

1595

Martin-Dumeste, Pierre. VIOLENCE IN AFRICA. War resistance, v. 2, 3d quarter, 1967: 14-19. P&GP RR

African states are being forced into a period of painful cultural readjustment by the impact of the Western technological civilization. Many of them have turned to the use of coercion to speed development, with the result that unjustifiable violence has been done to human rights. Most African civil services are corrupt and inefficient--a source of profits to elites, misery to everyone else. The only other organized cadre available to the state, the Army, has no real reason for existing since in Africa frontier defense is seldom necessary. The real functions of the Army are to provide well-paid jobs for the unemployed and offer an organized alternative to civilian rulers. The tragedy is that these military establishments consume resources that otherwise could be devoted to economic development. African militarism cannot be dealt with directly. The underlying economic causes of the disease must be attacked first. What Africa needs though are not grandiose planned economies but subsistence and handicraft improvements at the village level. What are the chances for nonviolence in Africa? Though no formal organization of nonviolent forces exists on the continent, nonviolence has in some cases evoked profound enthusiasm among Africans and seems to appeal strongly to the African temperament.

1596

Mason, John F. CONTRACTORS AND GOVERNMENT: CLASH OVER RULES. Electronic design, v. 16, June 6, 1968: 36-44. TK7800.E437, v. 16

An exchange of views on Defense Department procurement methods between representatives of industry and Government. Many contractors complained that the voluminous Government controls and regulations have caused them excessive amounts of work and resulted in unjust reductions of profits. Government representatives countered by accusing many companies of extracting unreasonable profits through unfair pricing methods and unauthorized use of Government equipment. In an attempt to reconcile the clash, Representative Chet Holifield has introduced a bill to establish a commission of 14 members drawn from the private sector and the legislative and executive branches of the Government to examine procurement procedures and recommend improvements.

1597

Mason, John F. ELECTRONICS IN THE PUBLIC SECTOR. Electronic design, v. 16, July 18, 1968: 35-39, 42-50. illus. TK7800.E437, v. 16

"Last of three articles on changing Government-industry-urban relationships." See item nos. 1593 and 1598 in this bibliography for first two articles.

Discusses the new opportunities that are expected to open up for electronics engineers now working on space and defense projects. Tomorrow's "glamour" engi-

neers may be called upon to solve "life" problems in the fields of air traffic control, radio communications, air and water pollution, and oceanography. Government spending should increase in each of these areas in order to meet the challenges of a rapidly expanding population.

1598

Mason, John F. WHAT HAPPENS AFTER THE VIETNAM WAR? INDUSTRY SEES A SMOOTH TRANSITION TO PEACE. Electronic design, v. 16, June 20, 1968: 38-45. illus. TK7800.E437, v. 16

First of three articles "on Government-industry relationships." For the other two articles see item nos. 1593 and 1597 in this bibliography.

Forecasts the status of electronic design engineers now engaged in military projects following the end of the Vietnam War. Most industry experts agree that very few engineers will lose their jobs since they are expected to become engaged in replenishing spare parts for operating military equipment, extensive research and development programs, producing new electronic consumer products, and supporting commercial efforts to "pull riches from the sea." Although the outlook in the field of electronics design could be drastically altered by the defense attitudes of the next President and changes in the international situation, the industry should not suffer as long as America maintains its foreseeable strategic commitments.

1599

Myrdal, Gunnar. AN ECONOMIST'S VISION OF A SANE WORLD. In Indian Institute of Social Order, Delhi. Social action, v. 18, Mar./Apr. 1968: 129-144. HN681.S58, v. 18

Protests against the irrationality of an international system in which the rich nations get richer and the poor nations get poorer while scarce resources are squandered by rich and poor alike for the construction of vast war machines. Myrdal warns that widespread famine may be more of a threat to the future of mankind than nuclear violence, but he is pessimistic about man's chances of avoiding either danger. If a worldwide hunger crisis is to be averted, the underdeveloped countries must press ahead with birth control programs and carry out radical social reforms, but these domestic measures can be successful in promoting rapid progress only if all nations--but particularly the rich nations--cooperate to establish a more equitable international economy and substitute the rule of law for the arms race.

1600

Nazarevskii, Valentin A. [THE U.S. ECONOMY AND THE VIETNAM WAR] Ekonomika SShA i volna vo V'etname. Moskva, Mezhdunarodnye otnosheniia, 1967. 78 p. HD9743.U6N30

Analyzes the detrimental effect of the Vietnam War on the U.S. economy and its consequences for American citizens. Nazarevskii concludes that the situation proves the shortsightedness of the U.S. Government, which wants to impose its dictates on other countries.

1601

Nelson, Bryce. MILITARY FUNDS: SENATE WHETS THE AX FOR ADM, RESEARCH, "THINK TANKS." Science, v. 160, May 24, 1968: 860-864. Q1.S35, v. 160

# ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

Stimulated by their successful "revolt" in April against military spending, military budget cutters in the Senate are mobilizing their forces to fight for further reductions in defense expenditures. Defense budget requests will be scrutinized more closely during the forthcoming weeks than ever before because of rising Senatorial discontent with the so-called "expansionist" policies supported by Defense Department funds and because of the demands for overall reductions in Government spending. Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield and chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee James William Fulbright have criticized the Defense Department for wasting billions in the area of research. During a committee hearing Fulbright questioned John S. Foster, the director of Defense Research and Engineering, about the propriety of Defense-sponsored research in the social sciences and in foreign countries. Fulbright and other committee members also expressed doubt over the value of the private "think tanks" subsidized by the Defense Department. They criticized the high salaries and quality of work of employees of these research centers and accused the "think tanks" of disrupting U.S. universities and relations with several foreign countries. Although there is no indication of a revolution in the Senate against defense spending, "there are signs of a small-scale uprising," and military authorization measures will meet a good deal of opposition during the remainder of the session.

1602  
PENTAGON POKES AT COSTS. *Business week*, no. 2023, June 8, 1968: 44. HC431. B87, 1968

Reveals the Pentagon's intentions to lower the price of engines for the F-111 aircraft and demand a \$20 million rebate on engines already delivered, because of production inefficiencies disclosed by a naval task force. Alarmed by a sharp increase in the costs of the F-111 engines, Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara had ordered an inquiry into the operating procedures of Pratt & Whitney Aircraft Division of United Aircraft Corporation, the company that produced the engines. The unprecedented act of checking behind the costs of defense projects may signify a new trend in defense contracting.

1603  
PENTAGON PREPARES TO TIGHTEN ITS BELT. *Business week*, no. 2025, June 22, 1968: 32-33. HC431. B87, 1968

Notes congressional demands for reductions in the \$50 billion non-Vietnam portion of the \$80 billion defense budget. Many cuts will involve personnel and operating expenses, but the greatest savings will come from cutbacks in procurement and research and development programs. The Sentinel ABM system, manned orbital laboratory, FB-111 long-range fighter-bomber, and fast deployment logistic ships are among the projects most likely to be slashed or stretched out.

1604  
Raymond, Jack. GROWING THREAT OF OUR MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX. *Harvard business review*, v. 46, May/June 1968: 53-64. HF5001. H3, v. 16

In his farewell address, former President Eisenhower warned the American public of the grave dangers inherent in the "military-industrial complex."

While Eisenhower acknowledged the need for a vast armaments industry in the interest of national security, he pointed out the potential for its acquisition of unwarranted power, "whether sought or unsought," because of its tremendous influence over a broad segment of American society. Currently 10 percent of the American labor force is employed directly or indirectly with military enterprises, and about 22,000 prime contractors and 100,000 subcontractors do business with the Defense Department. Often the prosperity of a particular community is highly dependent upon the military base or defense plant in its locality. In a number of cases politicians have supported arms programs more for their "pork" value to their constituencies than for their military value. Universities and other nonprofit institutions receive over \$700 million a year from the Pentagon. Even the Federal Government itself has a vested interest in munitions production, since its overseas arms sales have brought in \$11.1 billion since 1962. The influence of the armaments industry is further boosted by the abundance of retired military officers employed by defense contractors and by the support given to the military-industrial complex by various pressure groups. Currently the existence of countervailing pressures and a public awareness of the potential dangers posed by the military-industrial complex militate against the United States becoming "a garrison state in which most of its energies are devoted to arms." The very openness of the debates between civilian and Defense representatives over security issues reduces the likelihood of military domination of public policy. Moreover intraservice rivalries often prevent concerted action in support of military objectives. Additional safety factors include Government economic controls, the fierce competition for the military dollar among defense contractors, and the conflicting demands made on legislators that may cause even a defense-oriented Congressman to vote against a military appropriations bill in order to trade support for another issue.

1605  
Reinboer, J. [FOR WHAT HAS THE USAEC SPENT 43 BILLION DOLLARS; A 20-YEAR BALANCE] *Wort für die USAEC 43 Mrd. Dollar ausgab; Bilanz aus 20 Jahren. Atomwirtschaft-Atomtechnik*, v. 13, May 1968: 250-261. illus. TK9001.A97, v. 13

Reviews the main outlays of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) since 1947. Reinboer also considers AEC investments for development and production of weapons.

1606  
Riesler, Roger F., and Paul B. Downing. REGIONAL EFFECT OF DEFENSE EFFORT ON EMPLOYMENT. In *U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Monthly labor rev.*, v. 91, July 1968: 1-8. illus. HD8061.A78, v. 91

Describes the Economic Information Survey (EIS) which "directly measures employment in 453 major defense contractor plants and imputes employment for the unsurveyed plants." EIS gauges the differential effect upon the economies of regions and states. Employment in defense industries is more variable than in industry as a whole and this variability creates the need for flexibility in the affected labor market. The short or long term reaction of a community to changes in defense activity is not known.

## II. THE STRATEGIC ENVIRONMENT

1607

Sergeev, A. U.S. MILITARY BUDGET. International affairs (Moscow) June 1968: 112-113.  
D839, 1465, 1968

Analyzes military allocations in the U.S. 1968-69 fiscal year budget. "Sergeev states that even a cursory acquaintance with the budget shows the United States is going ahead with the policy of building up its military potential for total and local wars and seems to be bent on stepping up the arms drive.

1608

Tadashi, Kawata. ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS OF NUCLEAR ARMAMENT. Japan quarterly, v. 15, Apr./June 1968: 160-166.  
DS301, J274, v. 15

Any state that chooses to develop a nuclear armament program must be prepared to accept a major obstacle in the path of the advancement in the standard of living of its population. Despite this, countries are undertaking nuclear weapons programs. In addition the existing nuclear powers have abandoned "the international discussion which is the necessary preliminary to nuclear disarmament." These factors, coupled with developments in the peaceful uses of nuclear power, are leading to nuclear proliferation and world tension. The ambiguous attitude of the nuclear powers toward nuclear nonproliferation has created suspicion among the nonnuclear powers and caused them to believe that the only way to cope with the dangers of the atomic age is to acquire nuclear weapons of their own. It is up to the superpowers to lead the way toward nuclear sanity and away from world destruction.

1609

Weidenbaum, Murray L. CONCENTRATION AND COMPETITION IN THE MILITARY MARKET. Quarterly review of economics and business, v. 8, spring 1968: 7-17.  
HC10, Q33, v. 8

Attempts to measure the degree of concentration and competition in the military market in the United States. Weidenbaum finds considerable concentration but suggests that this is a characteristic of American industry as a whole. Competition is unevenly distributed but substantial in large and important sectors of the market. "Contrary to much of the writing on the so-called military-industrial complex, giant firms neither dominate the market nor are dominated by it. In fact, the greatest share of the military market goes to medium-sized firms, not the corporate giants.

1610

Weidenbaum, Murray L. INDICATORS OF MILITARY DEMAND. BQR; business and government review, v. 9, May/June 1968: 23-30.  
HF5001, B2, v. 9

Identifies the most important military demand indicators needed by economists to forecast quickly and accurately the impact of defense programs on the national economy. Most of the raw data required for this purpose is available but not in a readily accessible or easily formed form. Weidenbaum suggests that the Federal Government publish a monthly or quarterly report containing all the relevant statistics.

## 3. Ethical and Social

1611

Calder, Ritchie. CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL RESEARCH: CONSPIRACY OF SILENCE. Pax et libertas, v. 33, Apr./June 1968: 20.  
JX1901, P24, v. 33

Extracts from an address by Lord Ritchie-Calder at a conference in London, Feb. 1968.

Chemical and biological weapons are among the most frightening invented by mankind. However, there is a conspiracy of silence about them, and scientists themselves shy away from its implications. These weapons are manufactured on the pretext of "defense": to research and build a weapon the enemy does not have--to prevent it from using a weapon Britain may not have. This research has pervaded the universities and is corrupting "pure" science.

1612

Chekhozin, B. JUST DEMANDS. Daily review, translations from the Soviet press, v. 14, June 5, 1968: pt. 1, [item] 2, 1-2.  
Slav Rm  
Translated from Izvestia, June 4, 1968.  
Slav Rm

The Japanese scientists' discovery that coastal waters in the Sasebo port had been contaminated by the discharge of radioactive waste from the U.S. submarine Swordfish produced vehement protests from the Japanese people, who do not want Japan to be turned into a U.S. military base. The Japanese Government is obviously pursuing a nuclear policy that allows U.S. nuclear warships to enter Japanese ports and is preparing the population to accept nuclear armaments for the country's defense. The people fear a repetition of Hiroshima and therefore demand the annulment of the U.S.-Japanese peace treaty and the withdrawal of American military bases from Japan.

1613

Graham, Thomas F. ANATOMY OF AGGRESSION; BASES OF WAR. Akron, Danner Press [1968] 171 p.  
JX1255, G7

Contents. --Preface. --Introduction. --Acts of aggression. --Animal trends. Basic reaction. Nature of war. --Signs of storms: Western winds. Sino-Soviet schism. South Viet Nam. --Power profiles: Types of men. Politicians. Dehumanization. --Issues or insights: Implications. Disarmament. Alternatives. --Price of peace: Principles. Deterrence. Thinking. --Index of names. --Index of subjects.

Defends the theory that violence is not an inherent characteristic or universal trait. Aggression is a learned response to frustrations that evolves from simple reflexes. Radical or reactionary social movements provide the greatest risk of war because they are influenced by frustration, which tends to make members militant and suggestible. Peace can be achieved and war eliminated through existential psychology, which "views man as a creature of love and trust and not just one of hate and suspicion."

1614

Long, Edward L. WAR AND CONSCIENCE IN AMERICA. Philadelphia, Westminster Press [1968] 130 p.  
BT736, 2, L6

## ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

Partial contents. --The changing nature of war: Atomic and nuclear weapons. --Religious support for conscientious participation: The war ethic of the crusade. --Religious opposition to the participation in war: Activistic pacifism. --Morals and policy: Vietnam as a problem in judgment. Policy disagreement as a cultural problem. --The state, the church, and conscience: Freedom of conscience as a legal privilege. Toward nature and fair inclusion. --Notes.

Analyses the problems raised by war and the moral issues confronting young men who face military service. Long argues that the image of communism as a great international threat managed by military control from one center is fading away and that the policy of containment has become largely ineffective. The author concludes that, if some men are called by conscience to reject the Vietnam War, "they should stand well informed about the ground upon which other men in other times have made similar decisions."

- 1615  
Menshikov, Vitalii. IN DANGEROUS WAKE. Daily review, translations from the Soviet press, v. 14, May 22, 1968: pt. 1, [item] 3, 1.  
Slav Rm  
Translated from Pravda, May 22, 1968.  
Slav Rm

Several intermediate-range ballistic missiles were recently launched from a new NATO missile range on the island of Crete. The Greek Army junta used this occasion to assure the world that Greece was a "steadfast member of NATO." This assurance indicates that the junta is enmeshing Greece more and more in the United States and West Germany's hazardous design in the Mediterranean. But the roar of the NATO missiles fired by the Bundeswehr at the Nafli range cannot silence the Greek people's vehement protests against the junta's militaristic policies.

- 1616  
Walsh, John. CBW: BRITISH PROTESTS GROW ABOUT PORTON CENTER. Science, v. 160, June 21, 1968: 1318-1322.  
Q1.835, v. 160

In response to criticism of its chemical and biological warfare (CBW) policies the British Government announced it would open its chemical research establishment at Porton Down to the public for one day and would seek new international CBW control measures through the 18-Nation Disarmament Committee. Students at Birmingham and Essex Universities recently harassed a Porton representative visiting their institutions and demanded more information on the activities of the military research center. During the same week a number of prominent scientists requested the Government to transfer the microbiological establishment at Porton from the Ministry of Defense to the Ministry of Health and declassify its work. The formation of an Anti-Chemical and Biological Warfare Group was announced in May, and it joined other peace groups in protesting Government involvement in CBW. The drive to transfer Porton out of the Ministry of Defense was also joined by Labor Party representatives in Parliament under the leadership of Tam Dalyell. Although the Government argues it is following a strictly defensive CBW policy and claims it is not engaged in developing or manufacturing offensive CBW weapons, Porton's critics point out that the difference between identifying CBW agents that might be used by potential enemies and producing such agents for offensive purposes

is not that great. In addition to prompting responses from the Government, the public protests about Porton's work have intensified the debate within the scientific community over the integrity of engaging in scientific work with destructive potential.

### 4. Other

- 1617  
Braun, Joachim, Freiherr von. [GERMANY'S EASTERN POLICY; CONTRIBUTION BY A CHRISTIAN CITIZEN: A LECTURE] Zu Deutschland's Ostpolitik; Beitrag eines christlichen Staatsbürgers; ein Vortrag. [Göttingen] Göttinger Arbeitskreis [1967] 21 p. (Der Göttinger Arbeitskreis, Veröffentlichung Nr. 358)  
DD259.4, D685

Bibliographical footnotes.

Contents. --Civic thinking. --The international situation. --Christ in his state.

Warns against the naivete of some Christian peace movements in West Germany--e.g., those participating in Christian-Marxist peace conferences--that unwittingly support the Soviet policy of perpetuating the European status quo and the division of Germany.

- 1618  
Clemens, Walter C. THE CHANGING WARSAW PACT. East Europe, v. 17, June 1968: 7-12.  
DRL N363, v. 17

Since 1961 the Soviet Union has been trying to strengthen the East European alliance by reinforcing military and political ties within the Warsaw Pact. It has sought to modernize the allies' military forces, encouraged joint maneuvers, and tried to tighten the machinery for consultation and integration, but atomic warheads seem to be still under Soviet control. Failing to achieve further coordination, Russia has abandoned a plan to integrate atomic-armed units under Soviet officers. This action may have been partly influenced also by the Geneva negotiations on the non-proliferation treaty. Today Soviet military power still predominates in the Warsaw Pact. But the alliance members' subservience to Moscow may be waning as a result of their growing economic prosperity. Moscow itself seems to be doubtful about the East European armies' reliability and effectiveness. Probably for this reason the security of Eastern Europe continues to be guaranteed by Soviet nuclear power. Czechoslovakia's independent stance since the beginning of 1968 may lead to its eventual disengagement from the pact's first strategic echelon and later "generate pressure for supranational military and political strategies on a selective basis by other WTO powers." During the last decade Russia has used the pact to control polycentric tendencies and tried without success to secure the political fealty of the area by supranational economic planning. Recently it has agreed to collective decisions in marginal issues. If this trend continues the Warsaw Pact may contribute to polycentric political tendencies within the bloc, depending on the extent to which members may give or withhold their consent on key issues.

- 1619  
COMMAND & CONTROL AFSC. Data, v. 13, May 1968: 21-23.  
P&GP RR

Interview with John B. Beatie, Commander, Electronic Systems Division (ESD), Air Force Systems

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Command, dealing with ESD's reorganization, its involvement in Southeast Asia, and significant future programs. Bestic notes that ESD's reorganization will permit the division to put the resources where the work is, free some of its manpower from lower priority tasks, and further help realize the goal of ESD: to produce command, control, and communications systems for the Air Force throughout the world. He adds that, in Southeast Asia, ESD has over six operational communications systems, including an underwater cable communications system around the Indochina Peninsula, another ocean cable between Vietnam and the Philippines, and 200 miles of tropospheric scatter communications giving Thailand and South Vietnam telephone networks comparable to that of the United States.

1620

DÉTENTE: PROSPECTS AND PORTENTS [editorial]  
Christian century, v. 85, July 24, 1968: 935-938.  
BRI. C45, v. 85

It is senseless to allocate needed and limited Government funds for the construction of an ABM system that "is merely a technological daydream" with no guarantee of total effectiveness in the event of a thermonuclear war. Although the Russians, finally realizing the illusion of ABM protection, have now agreed to accept the U. S. offer of talks aimed at mutually abandoning the ABM, Congress still may not completely halt the insane spending for the proposed system. Congress did conclude that \$40 billion--the cost for the complete system--would be too much for what might prove to be a white elephant, but it is considering the possibility of a \$5.5-billion appropriation for a smaller system. In the end the United States will probably spend the \$5.5 billion, wrangle with the Russians for several years, and then agree to scrap the entire idea, claiming that the cause of world peace has been advanced--world peace being merely a euphemism for national security. While a détente might not ensue this year, its arrival seems inevitable. But of what value will the détente be to the underdeveloped countries where the real issues of peace and war are unresolved? Probably none, unless America and Russia agree to a "massive, open-handed sharing of the wealth liberated by the limitation of their arms." However, this would endanger the détente.

1621

Elremov, Aleksandr. THE PROBLEM OF EUROPEAN SECURITY. Soviet women, no. 6, 1968: 24-25.  
HQ1661.989, 1968

Since NATO appeared in Europe the arms drive has been mounting, and NATO's military camps and equipment now cover Western Europe. Germany has built its own formidable military force, which has become NATO's most powerful striking power, and is now trying to acquire nuclear weapons. This resurgence of militarism and revanchism alarms Europeans. The military spending of NATO member states has reached monstrous proportions, bolstered by the myth of the "Soviet threat," invented by NATO leaders. But in the light of the Soviet Union's peaceful policy, NATO seems useless, and American politicians have begun to demand withdrawal of American forces from Europe. This new policy affects West Germany, which has been asked to recognize the existing European boundaries, renounce nuclear weapons, and normalize its relations with East Germany. Although the politicians are doing their utmost to preserve the old NATO dogmas, the

people of Western Europe favor Soviet proposals for a conference of all European states to discuss an effective system of European security.

1622

Hammon, Stratton, and Neal Hammon. REMARKS ON THE PAPER "A SURVEY OF COMPLAINTS OF SEISMIC RELATED DAMAGE TO SURFACE STRUCTURES FOLLOWING THE SALMON UNDERGROUND NUCLEAR DETONATION", BY DEAN V. POWER. In Seismological Society of America. Bulletin, v. 58, June 1968: 1169-1172.

QE531.S3, v. 58

"References": p. 1172.

Reviews the literature relating to the social and scientific problem of damage resulting from underground blasting and cites some of the criteria used to determine structural damage. The authors conclude that the level of claim response for blast-related damage will be higher in low to middle income neighborhoods, where small houses are occupied and self-owned, and that owners of larger dwellings seldom submit claims for vibration damage.

1623

Jefferson, Louis. FLEXIBLE RESPONSE--AN UNCERTAIN TRUMPET. In American Security Council. Washington report, May 27, 1968: 1-4.  
P&GP RR

Had Secretary of State John Foster Dulles been around today, the Vietnam War, the Berlin Wall, and the Pueblo crisis would never have happened. Dulles would have moved swiftly against any Communist aggression. Under the Kennedy administration the doctrine of flexible response evolved and now furnishes a screen for no response. The rejection of massive retaliation "signaled to the Communists a willingness to meet them on a favorite battleground"--Vietnam. The United States must stand firm against communism, as Dulles did, and resolve to stand up to the Communists in the Paris peace talks. If it does not, "the final nail will have been driven into the coffin of American credibility."

1624

Kyes, Roger M. NEW FOCUS ON DEFENSE. Ordnance, v. 53, July/Aug. 1968: 43-45.  
UFI.067, v. 53

Calls for improved weapons research and development in peacetime. Kyes notes that too often the United States has entered a new war committed to the strategy and weapons of the last one. To counter the debilitating effects of peacetime complacency, the United States must build two separate and highly specialized defense systems, to counteract a nuclear attack and a limited war. On the other hand America must also "pursue the elucidation of the fundamental causes of war" to decrease the possibility of conflict. Kyes finds a key to the problem of war in Robert Ardrey's concept of the "territorial imperative."

1625

Lapp, Ralph E. CHINA'S MUSHROOM CLOUD CASTS A LONG SHADOW. New York times magazine, July 14, 1968: 6-7, 38, 40-41, 48, 50.  
AP2. N6575, 1968

With surprising rapidity China has transformed itself into a nuclear power. Already it is capable of black-

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mailing neighboring nations and soon will pose a direct threat to the United States. The Chinese took the difficult U-235 route to the manufacture of nuclear weapons but were careful to keep their ambitions within the limits set by their small industrial base. Quite obviously their goal is to produce nuclear weapons by the hundreds rather than thousands. China's current need is to develop an effective delivery system as quickly as possible, but ICBM design and manufacture raise no serious technological or scientific problems. The U.S. decision to deploy the Sentinel system is said to be a direct and necessary response to Chinese nuclear power. It is doubtful, however, that the system can be made effective even against an unsophisticated Chinese strike. The truth is that the decision to deploy an ABM rested on domestic political considerations. What effect will this decision have on U.S. relations with the Soviet Union? Russia's agreement to a nonproliferation treaty and willingness to discuss further arms control and disarmament measures demonstrate its desire to move toward a détente with the West. The Sentinel may undermine this opportunity for relaxing tensions and lead to a new arms race. The Pentagon argues that the Sentinel is required because the Chinese are more likely than the Russians to act irrationally; but if the United States assumes that the Chinese are rational when it formulates Vietnam policy, then why not in this more general case? One clear consequence of Chinese nuclear power is that more than ever before "the landmarks of military power are shrouded in ambiguity" and "more dollars no longer automatically buy increased security."

1626

McCarthy, Eugene J. THE MILITARIZATION OF AMERICA. *Progressive*, v. 32, Aug. 1968: 29. APs, F8655, v. 32

The danger that "militarism" in America might become institutionalized and no longer accountable to the public will must be halted. Recommendations for meeting the threat include: making all feasible cuts in the defense budget, seeing that Congress takes more seriously its obligations to review and control military spending and military missions, envisioning programs that would convert industrial efforts previously directed to military purposes into creative peacetime activity, scrutinizing and seeking to limit the use of the university for military research and development, limiting the activities of American arms salesmen, and ensuring that the military remain out of foreign aid and civic action programs in the underdeveloped countries.

1627

Nelson, Bryce. RESEARCH PROBE: RICKOVER BROADSIDES "MILITARY-SCIENTIFIC COMPLEX," *Science*, v. 161, Aug. 2, 1968: 446-448. Q1, S35, v. 161

Congressional skepticism regarding defense-sponsored research was recently reinforced by the testimony of Vice Adm. Hyman G. Rickover before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Rickover not only questioned the value of military research but also pointed out the danger of creating a vast military-scientific complex that would control and profit from the Nation's military research. Moreover he claimed that research subsidized by the Defense Department contributed to campus unrest and drew professors away from their teaching responsibilities. In view of congressional sympathy toward Rickover's accusations, the Department of Defense may decide to drop some of

its research projects, particularly in the social science field. Although before Rickover's testimony the Defense Department's Director of Research and Engineering, John S. Foster, staunchly defended the Pentagon's research programs, research that was once considered useful may "seem less essential when it serves as fuel for congressional derision."

1628

THE PENTAGON FIGHTS FOR ITS R&D FUNDS. *Business week*, no. 2023, June 8, 1968: 60, 68. HC431, B87, 1968

The Director of Research & Engineering for the Defense Department, John S. Foster, recently pleaded with the Senate Armed Services Committee not to slash the \$1.38 billion FY 1969 budget request for military research and development. He warned the committee that any reductions would seriously jeopardize the Nation's long-term security position. Although the Pentagon has sufficient funds for quick-result research projects, it has had to forgo many promising basic research programs because of lack of money. The Defense Department finds it particularly difficult to get congressional support for its social science projects aimed at aiding defense policymakers in understanding the cultural effects of their decisions. In its crusade to cut military research funds as a whole, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has focused a good deal of ridicule on the Pentagon's involvement in such projects as the study of witchcraft in the Congo and a comparison of normative behavior between Japanese and American youth.

1629

[PROCUREMENT; TOPICAL PROBLEMS OF ARMAMENTS POLICY] Beschaffung; aktuelle Probleme der Rüstungspolitik. *Wehr und Wirtschaft*, v. 12, Apr. 20, 1968: 146-148. U3, W38, v. 12  
Includes an English translation of parts of the speech.

Excerpts from a speech by Gerhard Schröder, the German Federal Republic's Defense Minister, to a group of industrialists on defense policy in a modern industrial society. Schröder stresses the importance of defense research and development for the nation's industrial technology and outlines the Federal Government's long-range fiscal plans in that area.

1630

Russo, Giovanni. SERVAN-SCHREIBER'S LAGGING EUROPE--WHO'S TO BLAME? *Atlas*, v. 16, Aug. 1968: 22-26. APL, A83, v. 16  
Translated from *Corriere della sera*, Milan. Newswp

Advances in industry and technology depend significantly on the coordination of military expenditures and policies. Failure to coordinate defense policies has caused Europe to lag behind the United States in such important areas as space exploration, computer development, atomic research, and aeronautics. Pierre Gallois, consultant for Dassault and adviser to De Gaulle, contends that military technology cannot be advanced unless the Europeans give up their separate programs for a "common military production based on the leading industries." While many French technocrats encouraged European cooperation, France has pursued a "two-track" course--collaboration, but only for the advantage of France. The Italians, Germans, and even the English, must expose these inconsistencies in De Gaulle's policies to pave the way for "genuine collaboration."

## II. THE STRATEGIC ENVIRONMENT

1631

S. D. C. SYMPOSIUM: ORGANIZATION AND OPERATIONS ANALYSIS. In Canada. Emergency Measures Organization. EMO national digest, v. 8, Apr./May 1968: 2-5, 16.  
P&GP RR

Reprint of the proceedings of a section of a meeting of the System Development Corporation of Santa Monica, Calif. Contributors include Allen H. Barton, Walmer E. Strobe, Joseph Romm, Ralph Burns, C. R. Patterson, and Robert L. Price.

Social science has failed to provide a usable model for the role of organizations or social systems during times of disaster. Widespread disasters that affect whole communities overload local facilities and require specialized skill and equipment and effective organizational methods. Mass volunteer help in such situations is hindered by lack of motivation, incompetence, and ill-defined allocation of aid. A major organizational problem is "finding how to use our tradition of local autonomy and local public participation in a world which demands more professionalism and more coordinated planning over large areas." Civil defense preparations must reflect the ascendancy of local responsibility. The basic function of civil defense organizations are planning and organizing activities and providing skills and capabilities not present in existing government organizations. If communities know how to operate under emergency conditions, and emergency functions and priorities are properly integrated at all levels of government, then loss of life and property can be limited.

1632

Stone, Jeremy J. THE CASE AGAINST MISSILE DEFENCES. London, Institute for Strategic Studies, 1968. 15 p. (Adelphi papers, no. 47)  
P&GP RR

Even though the decision to deploy a light missile defense system will be difficult to reverse, U.S. policymakers would be wise to terminate the project. The low probability of nuclear war between the United States and the Soviet Union does not warrant taxing the economy by continuing to build missile defenses. Moreover, because ABM systems have a tendency to obsolescence, the maintenance of an adequate system would be a continuing and probably unsuccessful struggle. Because both the Soviet Union and the United States would attempt to neutralize each other's defenses, the adoption of the ABM would seriously exacerbate the arms race. Once the deployment contest between missiles and antimissiles begins accelerating, it will be very difficult to stop. Although China has become the main rationale for deployment of the Sentinel system, almost all China experts deny China would risk attacking the United States. Furthermore there are no guarantees that an anti-Chinese missile defense system would offset advances in the Chinese missile force or that it could be dissociated from a larger Soviet-oriented force. From the Soviet point of view the American ABM may look like a threat of preemptive war, and the prospects of a new round of the Soviet-American arms race may encourage a number of countries to begin developing nuclear weapons. Because of its many drawbacks even ABM proponents cannot have very high expectations for its success. Nevertheless in the absence of Soviet-American disarmament talks, the Government will probably feel compelled to press on with missile defenses since it has not yet learned "to distinguish between a legitimate interest in insurance and an obsessive, neurotic concern for an unachievable nuclear security."

1633

WAR ON CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS [editorial] Nature (London) v. 218, June 8, 1966: 905-906.  
Q1. N2, v. 218

In the United States a considerable outcry has been raised against Government research programs in chemical and biological warfare. In Britain protest has been limited to sporadic lobbying. Significantly, the research objectives of the two countries are different. U.S. research aims at laying the groundwork for a chemical and biological arsenal, while the British program is limited to the search for attack countermeasures. Although revulsion against the development of these weapons is natural, it is asking a great deal to demand that a superpower give them up unilaterally. On the other hand it is not unreasonable to ask that the United States and the Soviet Union open discussions on the possibility of mutually abolishing these weapons. The problems here are obvious but not insurmountable. In Britain some critics argue that even defense-oriented research ought to be abandoned, but this is not to be expected of a prudent government faced with the possibility that these weapons--however heinous--will be used. Others are demanding that research be transferred to the Ministry of Health and its results made public, but this demand too is impracticable--even dangerous--because the information useful in research on countermeasures is equally useful in weapons development. The best course is for the Government to undertake to promote a better understanding of its work through a frank and informed public debate of the issues. In addition Britain should terminate its current practice of exchanging information on these matters with the United States. This exchange certainly benefits U.S. weapons research and for that reason would seem to be incompatible with present British policy.

1634

WEAPONS YIELD A PEACEFUL FALLOUT. Business week, no. 2012, Mar. 23, 1968: 86-89.  
HC431. B87, 1968

Although the primary job of the Sandia research center in New Mexico is related to the Nation's nuclear arsenal, it disseminates a good deal of technical information to the civilian industrial sector. In the process of designing and monitoring the production of the nonnuclear components of nuclear weapons Sandia is pressured by "the endless technological one-upmanship of the cold war" into constantly seeking new and improved techniques. Many of the discoveries, such as the Rolamite engineering principle and new computer components, have broad commercial applications and are made available to the public through a number of channels including Sandia's Office of Industrial Cooperation, the Atomic Energy Commission's Division of Technical Information Extension, the Commerce Department's Clearinghouse for Federal Scientific & Technical Information, professional and trade journals, and technology utilization conferences.

1635

Wigner, Eugene P., comp. WHO SPEAKS FOR CIVIL DEFENSE? New York, Scribner [1968] 125 p. illus.  
UA926. W45

Contents.--Introduction, by Walter Cronkite.--Nuclear war and civil defense, by Eugene P. Wigner.--Brief history of American civil defense, by Neal FitzSimons.--Government and civil defense, by Stuart L. Pittman.--Civil defense abroad, by Walter

#### ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

H. Murphey and Bjorn Klinge. --Civil defense and national defense, by Herbert Roback. --Afterword, by Stuart L. Pittman. --Appendix: letter to the President--Selected bibliography. --Index.

Collection of essays on various nontechnical aspects of civil defense from a study sponsored by the Civil

Defense Forum. By calling attention to the requirements for protecting the public against the horrors of a nuclear attack, the authors hope to inspire more constructive efforts in this field by citizens and Government officials. They emphasize the commonsense aspects of civil defense and decry the reluctance of U.S. policymakers to invest in a civil defense system.

### III. INSTITUTIONS AND MEANS FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF PEACE

#### A. INTERNATIONAL LAW

1636

Erdmann, Ulrich. [UNRECOGNIZED STATES AND GOVERNMENTS. FORMS AND LIMITS OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS] Nichtanerkannte Staaten und Regierungen. Formen und Grenzen internationaler Beziehungen. Göttingen (Universität, Institut für Völkerrecht) 1966. 217 p. (Reihe Allgemeines Völkerrecht, Bd. 12) JX4044. E7  
Bibliography: p. VII-XXV.

Partial contents. --pt. 1. International relations with nonrecognized states and governments as a factual situation. --pt. 2. The legal situation of nonrecognized states and nonrecognized governments. --Special problems of recognition. --pt. 3. Particular legal relations: Bilateral treaties. Multilateral treaties. Special problems created by division of Germany. The practice of participation of the nonrecognized in international organizations. Diplomatic representations. Principal absence of diplomatic relations. The ways irregular diplomatic relations manifest themselves.

Emphasizes that relations with nonrecognized states and governments are a subject of international law and not a "legal vacuum."

1637

Falk, Richard A., comp. THE VIETNAM WAR AND INTERNATIONAL LAW. Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 1968. 633 p.  
JX1573. F3

Sponsored by the American Society of International Law.

Bibliographical footnotes.

Partial contents. --pt. 1. A framework for legal inquiry: "Civil War" In The Law of Nations or the Principles of Natural Law, by Emmerich de Vattel, text of 1758, vol. III, pp. 336-40. "A Few Words on Non-Intervention," by John Stuart Mill, in Fraser's Magazine, December 1859. The U.S. and Wars of National Liberation, by Quentin L. Quade, New York. Council on Religion in International Affairs. "Intervention, Civil War and the Role of International Law," by Wolfgang Friedmann, 1965 Proc. ASIL 67-75. --pt. 2. Legal perspectives. "An Approach to Issues of International Law Raised by United States Actions in Vietnam," by Elliot D. Hawkins. "Viet-Nam and the International Law of Self-Defense," by Leonard Meeker, 46 Dep't. State Bull 54 (1967). --pt. 3. World order perspectives. "The Control of Force in International Relations," by Dean Rusk, 1965 Proc. ASIL 25. "Intervention in Civil Wars: A Modest Proposal," by Tom J. Farer, 67 Colum. Law Rev. 268-79 (1967). --pt. 4. Documentary appendices.

Collection of writings, classic and contemporary, on admissibility and inadmissibility under international law of foreign intervention in civil wars.

1638

Gralla, Erhardt. [THE PROBLEM OF ILLEGALITY OF TREATY CONTENTS UNDER INTERNATIONAL LAW] Das Problem der inhaltlichen Völkerrechtswidrigkeit internationaler Verträge. [München, Foto-Druck Frank] 1966. xvii, 118 p.  
JX4167. G7

Bibliography: p. v-xv.

Partial contents. --Legal nature and basis of the validity of the law of nations. --The system of international legal order. --Unity of international legal order.

Inquiry into criteria for legality of treaty contents. Gralla investigates methods of solving the problem of legality, including the casuistic method that has lately become popular.

1639

Linowitz, Sol M. OUR CHANGING SOCIETY: THE LAWYER'S CHALLENGE. American Bar Association journal, v. 54, May 1968: 445-450.  
LL

Considers the legal profession best suited to evaluate the areas where society needs to change and the ways the changes could be effected. Because they are uniquely experienced in negotiations, lawyers could play a leading role "in securing world peace and fostering international co-operation." Since law differentiates between liberty and license and represents the basis on which society is built, lawyers should strive to make justice the guiding principle of national and international affairs. There is an urgent need for leadership, and lawyers could contribute by forming a national advisory council on law and progress to propose long-term measures to form or improve existing legal and social systems and provide the public with a better understanding of problems and their solutions under law.

1640

Rusk, Dean. CONSOLIDATING THE RULE OF LAW IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS. In U.S. Dept. of State. Department of State bulletin, v. 58, May 27, 1968: 669-673.  
JX232. A33, v. 58

Address "made at the University of Georgia, Athens, Ga., on Law Day, May 4," 1968.

Evaluates the contribution of law to the maintenance of international peace and security. Rusk calls the U.N. Charter the "constitution" of the international legal system and identifies collective security as its basic tenet. He cites recent cases from the fields of disarmament and arms control, ocean floor and space exploration, international communications, and poverty relief to show how international legal agreements are being used to knit together the diverse interests of the world community.

1641

Vischer, Charles de. *THEORY AND REALITY IN PUBLIC INTERNATIONAL LAW*. Rev. ed. Translated from the French by P. E. Corbett. Princeton, N. J., Princeton University Press, 1968. 527 p.  
JX3375, V5T53 1968

Original title is *Théories et réalités en droit international public*, 3. éd., rev. et augm. (Paris, A. Pedone, 1960). LL

Bibliographical footnotes: p. 409-498.

Partial contents. --pt. 1. Politics: power in external relations from the beginnings of the modern state to the present; The foundations of the modern state; the individualist consequences of the new distribution of power. The consolidation of the state; growing predominance of the political since the Treaties of Westphalia. International law from the Congress of Vienna to the First World War, 1815-1914. Between the two World Wars, 1919-1939. --pt. 2. General relations of power and law in international relations: The political fact: its criterion; political disputes; political tensions: their various forms. Is there an "international community"? Sovereignty and international organization. The human ends of power. --pt. 3. Convergences and tensions of law and power in positive international law: Social factors and political factors in the development of positive international law. The state in the international order. Inter-state relations. Effectivity in international relations. Peaceful change. --pt. 4. The judicial settlement of disputes: Conciliation commissions (partial depoliticisation). Political obstacles to compulsory arbitration. Judicial settlement; the International Court of Justice (complete depoliticisation).

Concludes that positive international law tends now more than ever to be teleologically oriented.

## B. INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

1642

Bloomfield, Lincoln P. *THE U.N. AND VIETNAM*. New York, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1968. 44 p.  
JX1977.2, V5B6

Contents. --U.S. interest--and disinterest--in UN involvement in Vietnam. --The legality of U.S.--and UN --action in Vietnam. --UN possibilities vis-a-vis the will to compromise. --After the fighting stops. --Some conclusions. --Appendix A: United States 14-point peace program, January 1968. --Appendix B: Secretary-General's proposals, May 1968. --Appendix C: Canada's 4-step plan proposed September 1967.

Assesses the capability of the United Nations to contribute to a solution of the Vietnam War. Bloomfield argues that the U.N. cannot play a useful role in helping to resolve the conflict until both sides have a genuine desire to stop the fighting, are willing to accept something short of their total political objectives, and stand ready to negotiate their differences. Once these conditions are met and the parties move toward a settlement, there will be a rising scale of possible U.N. contributions. At all stages the utility of the U.N. will continue to be seriously impaired by the nonmembership of North Vietnam and China. The United States has much to gain from their admission to U.N. membership, and little, if anything, to lose. In this respect, "membership in the U.N. should be regarded not as a right, but rather as an obligation that none should be permitted to escape."

1643

Haas, Ernst B. *COLLECTIVE SECURITY AND THE FUTURE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM*. Denver, University of Denver [1968] 117 p. (Social Science Foundation and Graduate School of International Studies, University of Denver. Monograph series in world affairs, v. 5, monograph no. 1)  
JX1977, H16

Bibliographical references included in "Footnotes" (p. [99]-117).

Partial contents. --Forecasting, development models, and the reconciliation system. --Systems and environments in history. --The UN and collective security. --Global tasks and the UN of the future.

Speculates about the future role of the United Nations in the maintenance of world order. Developmental models "based on articulate assumptions, and established trends" are utilized to forecast the situation. After analyzing the requirements of an effective collective security system, the study concludes that the United Nations of 1985 will be "unable to carry out the collective security task as well as does the current UN" because the trend toward autonomy by each specialized U.N. agency will lead to a decline in inter-regional and interfunctional bargaining.

1644

Kotschnig, Walter M. *THE UNITED NATIONS AS AN INSTRUMENT OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT*. International organization, v. 22, winter 1968: 16-43.  
JX1901, I55, v. 22

Stresses the close relationship between maintenance of peace and security and world economic and social advancement. Individual chapters review the United Nations past decade of development, its membership explosion, powers, and institutional changes, and its development agencies: the U.N. Conference on Trade and Development and the U.N. Industrial Development Organization. The author concludes that the growing effectiveness of the United Nations as a tool of economic and social development points to a "global partnership" in the making.

1645

Morawiecki, Wojciech. *INSTITUTIONAL AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS OF PARTICIPATION OF SOCIALIST STATES IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS: A POLISH VIEW*. International organization, v. 22, spring 1968: 494-507.  
JX1901, I55, v. 22

A distinctive "socialist" approach to international organizations is discernible--the outcome of a common social system and ideology, interdependence, and a sense of shared danger. A state elects to participate in an organization only if it expects the balance of gains over losses to be in its favor, but any given balance may be altered and the direction of change cannot be foreseen. Therefore Socialist countries have always insisted that every organization to which they belong incorporate adequate institutional safeguards of its members' interests. Many disputes over institutional questions in existing organizations would not have occurred had the Socialist states been invited to participate in the founding of these organizations. In this way the viewpoint of the Socialist countries would have been incorporated into the organization right from the beginning. The decisions of international organizations are of the nature of recommendations. However, even a

### III. INSTITUTIONS AND MEANS FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF PEACE

recommendation, if hostile, can be damaging. Consequently, Socialist states are inclined to oppose the use of simple majorities to decide critical questions. The absence of adequate safeguards threatens not only the interests of the separate states but the existence of the organization itself. The greatest danger occurs when a majority of the states use the organization to advance their own interests without regard for the vital interests of other states.

- 1646  
Russell, Ruth B. **THE UNITED NATIONS AND UNITED STATES SECURITY POLICY**. Washington, Brookings Institution [1968] 510 p.

JX1977. 2, USR85

Partial contents. --The direction of United States policy since 1945. --Change and the Charter. --The United Nations security system. --The United Nations and arms control. --Limitations of collective enforcement through the United Nations. --Peacekeeping and the process of settlement. --Peaceful adjustment and political change. --The "rule of law" and the control of force. --Organizational problems: financing and membership. --The part as prologue. --Selected references.

Analyzes the role of the United Nations in U.S. national security policy. Russell notes that the United States has had difficulties in attempting to develop a satisfactory place for U.N. activities within the scope of its own foreign policy. The reason for this may be that the United Nations is a relatively new diplomatic implement that governments are often reluctant to use. The author states that the failure to achieve world peace after World War II is not the fault of international machinery but rather of the policies of governments. Before there can be peaceful settlement of disputes there must be an adequate national will, which can be brought to bear within an international organization.

- 1647  
Xydias, Stephen G. **THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY AS AN INSTRUMENT OF GREEK POLICY: CYPRUS, 1954-58**. Journal of conflict resolution, v. 12, June 1968: 141-158. JX1901. J6, v. 12

"References": p. 156.

Between 1954 and 1958 the Greek government resorted to the UN General Assembly five times over Cyprus. Its ostensible goal was to get the Assembly to adopt a resolution that referred to the principle or the right of self-determination for the population of Cyprus or, in the case of the fifth recourse, to the establishment of an independent Cyprus. The Assembly's responses to these five successive political stimuli, however, do not seem to have helped the achievement of these ostensible Greek goals, even though the latter goal was eventually attained. The setting up of an independent Cyprus was reached outside, not inside, the UN. Nevertheless, the international instrument which the Greek government sought to use for promoting its foreign-policy goal as well as the Greek Cypriot aspirations for enosis influenced not only the procedures finally adopted but also the substance of the solution. Beneath the corporate veil of the UN, two of the most influential third-party member states at the time--the US and India--had exerted their political weight. As a result, if the procedure of the conflict's resolution was primarily American, the substance of the settlement was, in the last analysis, Indian. (Abstract supplied)

### C. INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY FORCES

- 1648  
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. **SYNOPSIS OF UNITED NATIONS CASES IN THE FIELD OF PEACE AND SECURITY, 1946-1967**. Compiled by Catherine G. Teng. [rev. ed.] New York, 1968. 87 p. JX1977. C254 1968

"Originally designed as a reference paper for an informal Study Group on the United Nations sponsored by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. The first edition, which covered the period 1946-1965, was prepared by Catherine G. Teng and Kay L. Hancock of the Endowment's research and publication staff."

Outlines U.N. peacekeeping activities from 1946 through 1967. When pertinent, data is given for each of the 85 cases on the duration of the U.N. action, the nature of the security problem, the countries involved, U.N. objectives, U.N. bodies that determined and executed the action, the financing arrangements, and the U.N. action and its result.

- 1649  
Doxford, C. F. **UNITED NATIONS PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS: PROBLEMS AND UNCERTAINTIES**. Australian outlook, v. 22, Apr. 1968: 54-73. DU80. A947, v. 22

Explores the major obstacles in the way of international agreement on the nature, organization, and functions of U.N. peacekeeping forces. Doxford reviews the history of the dispute over the financing of the U.N. Emergency Force (UNEF) in order to illustrate the profound differences that exist between states on the political and constitutional issues raised by U.N. peacekeeping operations. He defends U Thant's decision to withdraw UNEF from Egypt on the grounds that a refusal not only would have been illegal and impractical but also would have provoked a controversy harmful to the future of peacekeeping. Doxford believes immediate progress toward institutionalizing the use of peacekeeping forces is unlikely but does not doubt that their potential usefulness justifies a continuation of efforts in this direction.

- 1650  
**PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS: COMMITTEE ADOPTS PROGRESS REPORT**. UN monthly chronicle, v. 5, July 1968: 49-50. JX1977. A1U564, v. 5

Notes the submission of a progress report to the General Assembly on June 27 by the U.N. Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations. In its report the Committee announced the initiation of a study of U.N. Military Observers authorized or established by the Security Council and declared that the Secretary General had been requested to supply supporting documentation for the study.

- 1651  
**PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS: COMMITTEE SETS UP WORKING GROUP**. UN monthly chronicle, v. 5, May 1968: 52-53. JX1977. A1U564, v. 5

Announces the decision of the U.N. Special Committee on Peace-Keeping Operations to create a working group to prepare a report on the technical support

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member states can provide to peacekeeping operations. Proposed by Francisco Cuevas Cancino of Mexico, the working group will meet on an informal basis and study documents submitted by Committee members and the Secretariat. The representative of Hungary emphasized that the working group has an advisory function only, since the Security Council alone has the authority to enact peacekeeping measures.

1652

**SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS BEGINS 1968 SESSION.** UN monthly chronicle, v. 5, Apr. 1968: 67-73.

JX1977.A1U564, v. 5

Highlights from the debate in the U. N. Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations during its March 1968 session. The Soviet representative repeatedly maintained there was no provision in the U. N. Charter for a military arm of the Secretariat. While he was unopposed to a study of U. N. peacekeeping arrangements, he emphasized that the study must be directed at strengthening the authority of the Security Council. The U. S. delegate stated that the mandate of the Committee was clearly to study methods for improving practical arrangements for "consent-type" operations and not to consider enforcement actions "of a binding legal character to be concluded under the Security Council." Representatives from Sweden, Canada, Brazil, the Netherlands, and Italy suggested that Committee members temporarily put aside constitutional differences and concentrate on examining the technical procedures needed to support all potential forms of future U. N. peacekeeping operations. Urging that the Committee proceed "on the basis of what unites us instead of what divides us," the Italian delegate recommended the establishment of a subcommittee to compile an extensive record of past U. N. peacekeeping operations.

1653

**Tandon, Yashpal. UNEF, THE SECRETARY-GENERAL, AND INTERNATIONAL DIPLOMACY IN THE THIRD ARAB-ISRAELI WAR.** International organization, v. 22, spring 1968: 529-556.

JX1901.155, v. 22

U Thant has been severely criticized for his abrupt compliance with the Egyptian demand of May 1967 that he withdraw the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) from Egypt, but in this specific case his decision was the only practicable one because of UNEF's vulnerable military position in Sinai. On the other hand Thant was under no obligation to comply automatically with the Egyptian demand; at the very least he should have made it clear that the withdrawal was being made under protest in order to create a stronger precedent for U. N. authority in the future. The more important question, however, is whether UNEF could have influenced the course of events had it remained on the scene. Obviously the force was too small to successfully interpose itself between the belligerents. However, its departure should have been the signal for a concerted international effort to avert an outbreak of war. No such effort materialized in the 3 weeks that followed the withdrawal of the force. This experience with UNEF has made evident the need to clarify the relationship between any future U. N. peacekeeping force and its host state and the desirability of making more precise the extent of the Secretary General's independent authority over such a force. For the moment the argument against a new U. N. peacekeeping

force for the Middle East is a compelling one: by increasing the security of the parties it would reduce the incentive to work for a compromise settlement. Only the failure to achieve a viable peace settlement, coupled with the imminent danger of a new war, would justify an attempt to renew the U. N. presence.

## D. OTHER PROCESSES, PLANS, AND PROPOSALS

1654

**CONFLICT RESOLUTION AND WORLD EDUCATION.** Edited by Stuart Mudd. Bloomington, Indiana University Press [1967] 294 p. illus. (World Academy of Art and Science. [Publication] 3)

HM36.5.C6 1967

Based upon a symposium held at the Consiglio delle ricerche in Rome, Sept. 9-12, 1965, in connection with the third plenary session of the World Academy of Art and Science.

Includes bibliographies.

Partial contents. --pt. 1. Causes of conflict: Pax mundi, by George E. G. Collin. The struggle for identity, by Morris L. West. Preventive psychiatry and world problems, by Leon J. Saul. Youth: fidelity and diversity, by Erik H. Erikson. Conflict and conflict resolution in families, by Emily H. Mudd. Ideas for social change, by George W. Taylor. The United Nations in a changing world, by U Thant. Conflict between nations, by Abba Eban. The historical unreality of the cold war, by John Nef. Conflict resolution by peaceful means, by Max Habicht. The Christian's role in transforming society, by W. A. Visser 't Hooft. Some notes on war and peace research, by M. Jane Stroup. Toward a theory of the dynamics of conflict, by Roger L. Stason and Russell L. Ackoff. Animal conflict and adaptation in relation to human conflict, by John L. Coudaley-Thompson. Features of a world capable of achieving peace under law, by Stuart Mudd. --pt. 2. Conflict resolutions: Some comments on the idea of a world university, by Harold Taylor. Thoughts on world education, by Morris R. Mitchell. Towards a dynamic "world" education, by John McHale. Educational problems of gifted children in Southeast Asia, by Ruth H. K. Wong. Existing international institutions which approximate, or might become, world universities, by Harold Taylor. The world academy of art and science and the creation of the world university, by Hugo Boyko. Some thoughts on megabiological research, by W. Taylor Thom, Jr. Interindividual, international conflicts and cooperation, by Midael M. Hoffman. The significance of the sociology of cooperation for the planning of a world university, by Henrik F. Infield. The problem of the health of the international community in the light of research on the causes of conflict, by Julian Aleksandrowicz. The fundamental importance of brain research, by Sir John Eccles. Certain criteria for application to large-scale irrigation projects in the developing countries, by John F. V. Phillips.

Anthology of views on the origins and resolutions of a wide range of conflicts. By discussing fundamental moral values, the contributors attempt to illustrate many of the principles that could form the foundation of international solidarity. To aid in identification of basic spiritual and intellectual values, they suggest the formation of a world university, which would "gather and evaluate the results achieved in all countries of the world which are connected with the solution of problems concerning all mankind."

### III. INSTITUTIONS AND MEANS FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF PEACE

1655

Cooper, Peter. CHILD PSYCHOLOGY OF WAR AND PEACE. War resistance, v. 2, 3d quarter, 1967: 19-25. P&GP RP

Freud argued that the moral personality is fixed at a very early age, but Piaget has shown that moral reasoning develops in much the same way as other intellectual skills. A study of the attitudes of 300 schoolchildren toward international conflict has revealed that between the ages of 6 and 16 the outlook of the normal child passes through three phases, reflecting his shifting concern with first the effects, then the processes, and finally the causes of conflict. Belligerency seems to increase with age, but all development atrophies in the midteens, and there may even be regression to an earlier phase in some adults. At all ages, international affairs are conceptualized in terms of personal experience. These findings have important consequences for the problem of educating for peace. Schoolboy contact with foreigners can help to break down antagonisms and the tendency to think in stereotypes, but only if it is prolonged enough to permit comfortable adjustment to foreign ways. Use of the techniques of role-playing and political gaming in the classroom may get better results. A more balanced presentation of patriotic and foreign materials in textbooks and an earlier introduction to the human sciences also would be beneficial. At the moment the state of the public mind is such that an international utopia of trust and cooperation is highly improbable. The practical alternative is tooth and nail negotiation. Meanwhile education still has a role to play in directing youth toward a more peaceful outlook on international affairs.

1656

Danckwortt, Dieter. [EDUCATION TOWARD INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING] Erziehung zur internationalen Verständigung. München, Juventa Verlag [1965] 184 p. LC1090.D3  
Bibliographical notes: p. 177-184.

Partial contents. -- From kindergarten to the university. -- Some central problems. -- Many points of departure.

Projects the possible improvement of youth education toward peace on the basis of an exchange of educational methods "between schools and extracurricular education." Danckwortt utilizes the materials and experiences of the German UNESCO Commission, the UNESCO Institutes in Germany, the Association of German Public Schools, and the German Federal Circle of Youth.

1657

Thant, U. EDUCATION IN A CHANGING WORLD. Michigan quarterly review, v. 7, Apr. 1968: 81-94. AS30.M48, v. 7

Education holds the key to a good many world problems, since it plays a major role in changing and expanding the economic, social, and intellectual framework of the world. Educators and students must question "popular assumptions, trends, and moods," strengthen what is good, and alter what is bad. Education must respond to the realities of life yet remain free of political pressures. The most urgent task that education should undertake in the crowded, interdependent yet challenging world of today is to transfer

"men's thoughts from their conflicts to their common interests." Perhaps the world, divided by political discord, will in time experience such a synthesis once common goals and ideals prove more powerful than the differences. Education should be a lifetime project for everybody, particularly within the United Nations, where countries, "having graduated to nationalism and independence," learn the art of coexistence and mutual aid. The very essence of all U.N. endeavor is the steady pursuit of an ideal; with this ideal held high and generating new standards to live by, no problem will ever be too big. People everywhere have pretty much the same aspirations, though living conditions differ greatly--and it is these inequalities that are being exploited in pursuit of power. How to cope with this tendency? The answer lies in the realm of education; in schools that can stimulate the more powerful and more constructive human impulses of brotherhood, compassion, tolerance, and reverence for life.

1658

U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Foreign Affairs. ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT ACT AMENDMENTS. 1968. Hearings, Ninetieth Congress, second session, on H.R. 14940. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1968. 259 p. KF27.F6 1968  
Hearings held Feb. 1-20, 1968.

Testimony of Director William C. Foster, Deputy Director Adrian S. Fisher and other staff members of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency in support of increasing the Agency's authorization for appropriations. The major reason for the increase is that this year for the first time the Agency will bear the entire burden of the field test program, which used to be shared with the Department of Defense.

1659

Werkheiser, Don. INVISIBLE TYRANNY: SYMBOLIZATION IN HUMAN RELATIONS. Journal of human relations, v. 16, no. 1, 1968: 42-54. HLJ55, v. 16

The human species is headed toward self-destruction. Every effort to steer a different course has failed. However, two factors have been overlooked in the search for solutions to the problems of the human condition: the nature of symbolic processes and the character of human relationships from the viewpoint of decisionmaking. Human capacity is always limited by the state of development of its symbolizations. If humanity is to find new solutions to its old problems it must devise new symbols to express new ideas. Current political symbols are inadequate because they can be used in the context of diametrically opposed frames of reference, particularly those of liberty and tyranny. Fortunately, unambiguous operational definitions of liberty and tyranny can be derived from an analysis of the role of decisionmaking in human relations and new symbols invented to identify precisely the frame of reference--libertarian or tyrannical--in which any word is used. Application of this method to statistical arguments on international relations reveals their hypocrisy. These insights--an operational test of freedom and a semantic test of deception--are important steps toward ending the present American confusion and will be used in a second article to study the problems of how a human community can be developed within the "present shapes of the Western barbaric cultures of rivalry, struggles, predation, war, death."

## IV. GENERAL ANALYSES AND COMPREHENSIVE APPROACHES

### A. THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

1660

Baker, Paul R., ed. **THE ATOMIC BOMB: THE GREAT DECISION.** New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston [1966] 122 p. (American problem studies) D642. B34

Partial contents. --The decision to use the bomb, by Henry L. Stimson. --The bomb and concurrent negotiations with Japan, by Samuel Eliot Morison. --The strategic need for the bomb questioned, by Hanson W. Baldwin. --The great decision: pros and cons, by Herbert Fels. --A check to the Soviet Union, by Gar Alperovitz. --"Believing the unbelievable," by Michael Amrine. --Changing ethics in the crucible of war, by Robert C. Batchelder. --The enthronement of naked force, by Fred J. Cook. --The "decline to barbarism," by Dwight Macdonald. --The bomb a deterrent of war, by Richard H. Rovere. --Pervasive consequences of nuclear stalemate, by Carroll Quigley. --Moral and social aspects of science and technology, by Norbert Wiener. --Afterthoughts on a fateful decision, by Len Giovannitti and Fred Freed.

Selections from the debate over the U.S. decision to use the atomic bomb against Japan. Baker identifies four major foci of dispute in the controversy and presents materials representative of the conflicting points of view on each of these issues: the strategic soundness of the decision, its effects on postwar U.S. relations with the Soviet Union, the morality of devising and using weapons of mass destruction, and the historical significance of the new weapon and its more powerful and widely proliferated offspring.

1661

Birnbaum, Karl E. **THE NORDIC COUNTRIES AND EUROPEAN SECURITY.** Cooperation and conflict, no. 1, 1968: 1-17. P&GP RR

A study of the official views of Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Denmark on problems of European security. Birnbaum wants to determine the basic motivations and primary arguments underlying the policies of these states and to detect any tendencies toward change. The attitudes of the four states toward central European problems, arms and arms control, détente, and relations with East Germany are compared. They all want a relaxation of East-West tensions and take a positive view of regional arms control arrangements in Europe. They differ in their views of whether the security of the Nordic states can be divorced from that of Western Europe as a whole and in their estimates of the extent to which they can influence the course of European events.

1662

Calvocoressi, Peter. **INTERNATIONAL POLITICS SINCE 1945.** New York, F. A. Praeger [1968] 480 p. D643. C24

Partial contents. --The resurgence and isolation of China. --The Communist bloc. --Western Europe. --The Arab world and Israel. --Nationalism and oil in Iran. --The Egyptian revolution and the Suez War. --Cyprus. --India and its neighbors. --The Korean War and American engagement in East Asia. --South East Asia. --Northern Africa. --West Africa. --The Congo. --Latin America. --Index.

Retraces the events of the cold war from the Russian takeover of East European countries at the end of World War II to the Cuban missile crisis in 1962 and the Arab-Israeli War in 1967. Calvocoressi notes that postwar disarmament discussions were fruitless until the end of the fifties. And while the superpowers have developed an increasing sobriety in relation to the use of nuclear weapons, there has been no reason to suppose that other countries, once they achieve a nuclear capability, will develop an intimate understanding of the permissible limits of nuclear politics.

1663

Dinerstein, Herbert S. **FIFTY YEARS OF SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY.** Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press [1968] 73 p. (Studies in International affairs, no. 6) DK63. 3. D55

Bibliographical footnotes.

Contents. --Introduction. --Soviet foreign policy until the end of World War II. --The cold war. --The search for nuclear coexistence: phase one to October, 1962, the movable status quo. --The search for nuclear coexistence: phase two, after the missile crisis.

Assesses the probability of a Soviet-American accommodation in the light of Soviet foreign policy since 1917. Dinerstein describes the Soviet Union's changing approach to peaceful coexistence with the West and the influence of "mutual misperception" on relations between Russia and the United States. He then relates these two historical elements to the most urgent current problems in Soviet-U.S. relations--the nuclear arms race and the Vietnam War. The war has provoked a new cycle in the struggle for strategic nuclear superiority, the most recent manifestation of which has been the decisions of the two countries to build limited ABM systems. A scaling down of the arms race would be advantageous to both powers but is unlikely until the Soviet Union abandons its current view that capitalism is doomed and coexistence is only a transitional stage.

1664

Hester, Hugh B. **OUR DIVIDED WORLD AND THE WAY OUT.** Journal of human relations, v. 16, no. 1, 1968: 69-77. HL J55, v. 16

The division of Europe into opposing military alliances was a result of American, not Soviet, initiatives. Following World War II, the United States turned from international cooperation to atomic diplomacy in a grab at world dominion. The true purpose of NATO was not defense against the Soviet Union but suppression of

#### IV. GENERAL ANALYSES AND COMPREHENSIVE APPROACHES

attempts to establish leftist governments in Western Europe and containment or rollback of communism everywhere. The Soviet Union has consistently supported reunion of a disarmed and neutralized Germany and dissolution or merger of NATO and the Warsaw Pact but has been rebuffed by NATO. The U.S.S.R. clearly wants worldwide disarmament, but NATO does not. Many European leaders now agree with De Gaulle that the East poses no threat, but German "leaders," who owe their power to NATO, and the United States prefer that tensions be sustained. The real war, however, is not between the East and West but between the haves and have-nots, and the real enemy is poverty. A world organization with power adequate to regulate nationalistic competition and deal with the problems of poverty is needed. Some have suggested that U.S. policy is now dictated from the Pentagon, but there is little doubt that Johnson is still the leader of the war hawks and responsible for the illegal, immoral, and genocidal war in Vietnam. The peace forces must translate their opposition to rampant militarism into meaningful political terms by next November and show the world that humanity is not dead in the United States.

1065

Jha, P. K. **INDIA'S CONTRIBUTION TOWARDS DISARMAMENT**. Gandhi marg, v. 12, Apr. 1968: 206-212. DS481. G3G22, v. 12

During the past 20 years India has built up an outstanding record as an eloquent and steadfast proponent of U.N. disarmament measures. Prime Minister Nehru was the first world statesman to advocate cessation of nuclear testing. In 1955 India submitted a proposal to the U.N. First Committee urging the negotiation of a ban on nuclear explosions and initiated the establishment of the U.N. Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation. Alarmed at the deadlock of test ban negotiations in Geneva, India in 1958 promoted the creation of a U.N. disarmament commission consisting of all member states and suggested the convening of a new Geneva disarmament committee composed of an equal number of representatives from the East and West. In line with the Indian suggestion, a new 10-nation committee was formulated in 1958 but was doomed to failure by U.S.-Soviet differences. Multilateral negotiations on disarmament were not resumed until the new 18-Nation Disarmament Committee was convened in 1960. As one of the eight nonaligned members of the new committee, India could pursue its disarmament policies more effectively. India has played a significant role in promoting acceptance of the partial test ban treaty. India has actively supported U.N. efforts to ensure the peaceful uses of outer space and expressed great concern over the problem of nuclear proliferation. Unfortunately India may now be propelled into the arms race by the aggressive attitudes of Pakistan and China. However, there is hope "the great people of India will not renounce the glory of their past but continue to extend their powerful and necessary contribution" to efforts toward universal disarmament.

#### B. GENERAL ANALYSES

1666

Bader, William B. **THE UNITED STATES AND THE SPREAD OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS**. New York, Praeger [1968] 176 p. JX1974.7. B3  
"Published for the Center of International Studies, Princeton University."

Contents. --Introduction. --The United States and the nuclear dilemma "In the manner of making war." --Kennedy and Johnson: NATO and Geneva. --National circumstances and nuclear status. --The legacy and the challenge. --Notes. --Appendix 1: United States of America Draft Treaty on the Non Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. --Appendix 2: Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America. --Appendix 3: Treaty banning nuclear weapons tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water. --Bibliography. --Index.

Examines American nuclear policies from the Truman administration to the present and the special political and diplomatic circumstances of several nations within the context of their nuclear policies. Bader believes that U.S. nuclear policy has only recently been characterized by efforts to halt the spread of nuclear weapons and that in reality postwar America endeavored to achieve a nuclear monopoly under the pretense of advocating nonproliferation schemes such as the Baruch plan. He contends that in its nuclear policies the United States has made its own values and attitudes valid for all other countries.

1667

Berkhan, Willi. **[PROBLEMS OF ARMS CONTROL]** Probleme der Rüstungskontrolle. Wehrkunde, v. 17, Apr. 1968: 169-173. U3.W396, v. 17  
Paper read at the 5th international Wehrkunde meeting on defense problems in Feb. 1968.

The threat to the "nation's substance" inherent in today's deterrents is the single most important difference between the modern military balance of power and those of the past, between contemporary security policies and classical, between new arms controls and traditional. The failure of disarmament efforts in the fifties plus the existing Soviet-U.S. nuclear stalemate caused the United States in the sixties to propound a multilateral arms control policy. International negotiations in recent years have brought out two main aspects of such policy. In regard to the Soviet-U.S. military relationship, agreement was reached on matters of marginal importance only. (Efforts to check thermonuclear armaments or to limit development of mutual deterrence broke down over the difficulty of finding a common denominator for the asymmetric advantages on both sides from possession of certain types of weapons.) In regard to the armaments of other nations, the two superpowers agreed to a remarkable extent. Proposals by non-nuclear nations that the nonproliferation treaty not preclude the possibility of creation of supranational regional nuclear power are incompatible with the superpowers' basic interest in stabilization of the nuclear duopoly, aimed at keeping the risks of catalytic war to the minimum. This is in the interest of other nations as well.

1668

Bloomfield, Lincoln P. **DISARMAMENT AND ARMS CONTROL**. [New York, Foreign Policy Association] 1968. 63 p. illus. (Headline series, no. 107) JX1974. B478

Contents. --National security and international security. --The hard facts of technology and strategy. --And international politics. --Steps toward sanity: partial measures. --Sweeping solutions: GCD. --The way ahead. --Talking it over.

## ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

Discusses the progress the world has made toward arms control and disarmament. Bloomfield believes that no major progress toward disarmament is possible without eventual Chinese participation. He states that, although the Soviet Union is on the threshold of attaining strategic parity with the United States, the multiple independent reentry vehicle (MIRV) will maintain American strategic superiority for some years to come. The MIRV and the ABM can be destabilizing if they tempt a nation to believe it can launch a successful first strike. Bloomfield concludes that the developments in offensive and defensive weapons create an unstable political and military situation among the superpowers.

1069

DISARMAMENT: A GUIDE TO UNDERSTANDING THE PROBLEM. Intercom, v. 10, Jan./Feb. 1968: 31-80. P&GP RR

Contents. --Disarmament or arms control? Views on the question. --Disarmament: a primary concern of the UN. --ACDA coordinates U.S. arms control and disarmament efforts. --Issues in arms control and disarmament. --What some U.S. citizen groups are doing about arms control and disarmament. --Films on disarmament and related problems. --A cross-section of views on arms control and disarmament: suggested readings.

Introductory survey of the major issues in arms control and disarmament, of the major governmental and private organizations active in this field, and of the literature. In addition to the general bibliography, separate brief bibliographies are provided on the non-proliferation treaty, antiballistic missiles, the strategic nuclear balance, Soviet and Chinese policies on arms control and disarmament, regional arms control, the test ban treaty, inspection, chemical and biological weapons, outer space, general and complete disarmament, and the economic impact of disarmament.

1670

[RACE WITH ATOMIC DEATH. DOCUMENTS, OPINIONS BY EXPERTS AND ARTICLES ON THE DANGER OF NUCLEAR WAR] Wettlauf mit dem Atomtod. Dokumente, Stellungnahmen von Experten und Artikel über die nukleare Kriegsgefahr. Herausgeber: Internationales Institut für den Frieden. [Wien, Gazetta Zeitschriften G. m. b. H., 1967] 163 p. UF761.W46

Contents. --Preface. --pt. 1. The first atom bomb: Hiroshima after the bomb was dropped. Pressure, heat and radiation effects. Consequences for the survivors. Consequences for the unborn. Fast warnings. --pt. 2. The further development and present state of nuclear armaments: The beginning of nuclear armaments. Hydrogen and super bombs. The present potential of nuclear destruction. Warnings on civil defense illusions. --pt. 3. The reality of the danger of nuclear war: The Korean War. The Cuban crisis. The danger increased through the increase in nuclear powers. Nuclear world war by mistake or error. --pt. 4. The necessity for and possibility of a world without war: For a world without war. Definition of peaceful coexistence. General and controlled disarmament. Demilitarized and nuclear-free zones as a transitional solution. --pt. 5. A first step: Nuclear weapons tests by nuclear powers from 1945 to 1958. The scientists on medical consequences of nuclear bomb tests. Unilateral cessation has not brought an end to tests.

From the protest movement against nuclear-bomb tests. The Moscow Treaty. --pt. 6. National economy and disarmament: Costs of the arms race. Armaments expenditures and the profits economy. The national economy and disarmament. Means that become available and their possibilities of use. --pt. 7. Peace movements and the Vietnam War: Peace organizations and peace movements. The United States war in Vietnam. The struggle of peace movements against the Vietnam War. --Concluding remarks.

Contents that the misery and starvation in the world stem from the arms race rather than from a shortage of goods. The defense industry impedes the proper development of the national economy, and nuclear arms tests threaten the biological survival of mankind. The only way to prevent war is general disarmament.

1671

Ruina, Jack P. THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE--DIAGNOSIS AND TREATMENT. In American Academy of Arts and Sciences. Bulletin, v. 21, May 1968: 2-13. AS36.A48516, v. 21

Summary of an address to the April Stated Meeting of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

Describes current and probable future U.S. and Soviet strategic nuclear weapons capabilities and examines the factors most likely to promote stability in the balance between the two powers. Ruina predicts that success in controlling the arms race will be achieved only when the United States drops its commitment to nuclear superiority and the Soviet Union becomes willing to abandon its closed social system.

1672

Schlott, Gerhart. [THE ARMS RACE AND DISARMAMENT IN THE NUCLEAR AGE] Wettrüsten und Abrüstung im Atomzeitalter. [Hannover, Niedersächsische Landeszentrale für Politische Bildung, 1967] 77 p. (Schriftenreihe der Niedersächsischen Landeszentrale für Politische Bildung. Friedensprobleme, Heft 1) UA10.S3

Bibliography: p. 77.

Contents. --The character of war and development of weapons throughout history. --The appearance of war and the development of armaments in the nuclear age. --Disarmament efforts after 1945. --Potentialities and the difficulty of peace planning.

Reviews supranational and multilateral disarmament and arms control plans. Schlott also considers problems of the transformation of the defense industry into civil industry to be dealt with by plans for peacetime security. Disarmament--he concludes--must not be confused with peace planning, though it nonetheless represents a most important prerequisite for it.

1673

SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS AND ARMS CONTROL: report to the U.S. Arms Control & Disarmament Agency. [Cambridge] East Asian Research Center [and] Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, 1966. 2 v. JX1974.S557

Bibliographical footnotes.

Contents. --Vol. I. Foreword. Approaches to arms control. Sino-Soviet relations and arms control, 1957-1966. The interaction between the nuclear test ban and Sino-Soviet relations. The future impact of the

#### IV. GENERAL ANALYSES AND COMPREHENSIVE APPROACHES

Sino-Soviet dispute. Implications for American arms control and disarmament policy. Appendix. --Vol. II. Collected papers: The test ban and Sino-Soviet relations, by Walter C. Clemens. Front meetings and Sino-Soviet dispute on disarmament and nuclear weapons, by Karl F. Speilmann. Arms control: can China be ignored?, by Jeremy J. Stone. Japanese attitudes toward the Chinese nuclear programs, by Kei Wakai-zumi. Chinese views on the spread of nuclear weapons, by Oran R. Young. Sino-Soviet relations in a U.S.-China crisis: The Chinese attitude, by Harold Hinton. The Soviet attitude, by Malcolm Mackintosh. The American attitude, by George H. Quester.

Assesses the implications of the Sino-Soviet dispute for U.S. security policy in general and for arms control policy in particular. Halperin takes issue with the contention that significant Soviet-U.S. arms control agreements are impossible without the participation of China. In truth, "almost any conceivable Soviet-American or multilateral arms control arrangement is possible without Chinese cooperation." Nevertheless the United States can and should develop a separate arms control policy vis-a-vis China. Although the likelihood of any kind of agreement within the next few years is nil, U.S. arms control initiatives would serve to draw the Chinese out of their isolation and introduce them to the nature of strategic dialog in the nuclear age.

1874

Stone, Jeremy J. STRATEGIC PERSUASION; ARMS LIMITATIONS THROUGH DIALOGUE. New York, Columbia University Press, 1967. 176 p. JX1974.S85

Bibliographical footnotes.

Stresses the significance of communications in accelerating or slowing down the arms race between Russia and the United States. While formal measures to promote arms reductions may falter, the strategic dialog, the "flow of communications between the two sides on matters of strategy and arms control," never ceases. Since the strategic policy of each superpower is heavily

influenced by its interpretations of the other's intentions, the strategic dialog could exert a positive influence on the arms race. In recommending this approach to arms limitations, Stone first outlines the problems inherent in meaningful and credible exchanges. He then discusses the characteristics of the direct exchange of information via unofficial bilateral discussions and the indirect exchange via public pronouncements. A greater emphasis upon the nature of the audience in communicating strategic positions could lead to significant breakthroughs in attitudes toward arms control.

#### C. GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT

1875

U. S. S. R. GOVERNMENT MEMORANDUM ON SEVERAL URGENT MEASURES FOR CESSATION OF THE ARMS RACE AND FOR DISARMAMENT. Current digest of the Soviet press, v. 20, July 24, 1968: 3-4.

D839.C87, v. 20

Translated from Pravda, July 2, 1968.  
Slav Rm

Complete text of a memorandum containing the Soviet proposal for agreement on implementation as soon as possible of the following urgent measures for cessation of the arms race and for disarmament: a ban on the use of nuclear weapons, measures for ending the manufacture of nuclear weapons and reducing and liquidation of their stockpiles, limitation and subsequent reduction of strategic systems for delivery of weapons, a ban on flights of bombers carrying nuclear weapons beyond national frontiers [and] limitation of voyages by submarines carrying missiles, a ban on underground tests of nuclear weapons, a ban on the use of chemical and bacteriological weapons, liquidation of foreign military bases, measures for regional disarmament, and provision for peaceful uses of the seabed and ocean floor. The memorandum also stresses the necessity of solving the problem of general and complete disarmament.

## V. SPECIFIC PROBLEMS AND LIMITED MEASURES

### A. NEGOTIATION

1676

Buttinger, Joseph. CAN THE NEGOTIATIONS BRING PEACE TO VIETNAM? *Dissent*, July/Aug. 1968: 296-300. HXL D58, 1968

The responsibility for ending the Vietnam War through the Paris negotiations lies with the United States much more than with Hanoi or the National Liberation Front (NLF). In many areas of disagreement the NLF and Hanoi are both more willing and able to compromise than Washington. The NLF cannot and will not insist that a coalition government conduct negotiations for South Vietnam. It merely demands to be represented in Paris together with spokesmen of a non-Communist Saigon government that no longer stands for a military solution and denies NLF representation. Neither the NLF nor Hanoi insists any longer on an immediate and complete withdrawal of U.S. forces as a condition of settlement, and they will probably agree to postpone the decision on reunification for at least 5 years. The United States will gain by agreeing to a political compromise at Paris. Johnson can leave office feeling that America has achieved its purpose in Vietnam--the Communists have been forced to abandon their attempts to impose themselves on the South Vietnamese--and a new administration can "base its acceptance of a compromise that sanctions American political defeat on a realistic rereading of recent Vietnamese history."

1677

Cleveland, Harlan. HOW TO MAKE PEACE WITH THE RUSSIANS. In U.S. Dept. of State, Department of State bulletin, v. 58, May 27, 1968: 687-692. JX232. A33, v. 58

"The 1968 Cardinal O'Hara Memorial Lecture delivered at the University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Ind., March 13, 1968.

Evaluates approaches to the problem of building a stable peace in Europe. Cleveland emphasizes the crucial contribution of NATO to the work of peacekeeping and peacemaking. NATO keeps peace by maintaining a strong deterrent to Soviet aggression and makes peace through the negotiation of arms control agreements and the encouragement of political accommodation between East and West. The author points out that the growing economic and technological interdependence of states is no respecter of ideologies and this offers a third approach to peace through the encouragement of functional and technical cooperation.

1678

CONFERENCE OF NON-NUCLEAR-WEAPON STATES: STATEMENT ISSUED. UN monthly chronicle, v. 5, July 1968: 50-51. JX1977. AIU564, v. 5

Text of letter sent to all nuclear-weapon states and to non-weapon states belonging to the United

Nations, U.N. specialized agencies, and the International Atomic Energy Agency announcing the convening of a conference of nonnuclear-weapon states at Geneva from August 29 to September 28, 1968. In accordance with a General Assembly resolution all nuclear-weapon states, including Communist China, were invited to participate in the conference with a nonvoting status. An official statement issued in connection with the letter explained that the transmittal of the letter to Communist China was in no way related to the question of Chinese membership in the United Nations.

1679

Martin, Laurence. THE BOMB: THE SUPERPOWERS STRETCH OUT A HAND. *Spectator*, v. 221, July 5, 1968: 6-7. AP4. S7, v. 221

The strategic debate within both the United States and the Soviet Union shows that they question the wisdom of a slowdown in the nuclear arms competition. The Soviet and American willingness to resume talks may be an attempt to discover whether agreed restraints constitute a realistic alternative to increased strategic expenditures. But progress will be slow because of each side's doubts about the motives of the other in agreeing to the talks and the general difficulty of disarmament--establishment of a mutually acceptable strategic relationship, determination of strategic balance that takes into account the potential of research and development, and agreement on what constitutes stability and on inspection. While explicit limitations on strategic forces seem remote, in the atmosphere of détente symbolized by the negotiations the superpowers may reciprocally slow down the rise of their force levels and rate of innovation by small, token agreements. But internal pressures in both Russia and the United States will influence the course of the talks and possibly thwart adoption of any meaningful restraints.

1680

NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY: COMMITTEE BEGINS DEBATE. UN monthly chronicle, v. 5, May 1968: 36-42. JX1977. AIU564, v. 5

Discussion of the draft nuclear nonproliferation treaty within the U.N. Political and Security Committee. Chairman Ismail Fahmy, of the United Arab Republic, introduced the draft as one of the most important items ever to come before the United Nations. Secretary General U Thant urged conclusion of the treaty as early as possible. Representatives from the United States and the Soviet Union praised the treaty, emphasizing its importance in facilitating further arms control measures and reassuring Committee members that the treaty was fair to both nuclear and nonnuclear countries. They pointed out that although the treaty contained a certain amount of compromise, it represented the collective efforts of both large and small countries. Secretary of State for External Affairs of Canada, Mitchell Sharp, stated that "progress must be put ahead of perfection in disarmament negotiations." He warned that conclusion of the treaty must not be

## V. SPECIFIC PROBLEMS AND LIMITED MEASURES

jeopardized by demands for stronger security commitments and disarmament obligations on the part of the superpowers.

1681

TORTUOUS ROAD TO NUCLEAR SANITY. Time, v. 92, July 12, 1968: 12-13. AP2, T37, v. 92

Hypothesizes that Russian willingness to engage in nuclear weapons limitation discussions results from fear that a negotiated settlement to the Vietnam War might make Washington channel billions of defense dollars into new weapons systems, dread of U.S. advances in multiple warheads for missiles, and the argument of a disarmament-minded faction within the Kremlin that the arms race, in addition to causing further economic strains, might lead to war. In regard to missile systems, the most one can hope for is a freeze on existing offensive missiles and a pact placing severe limitations on the already established or proposed ABM systems, and discussions will probably be long and exasperating. Appended is a chronology of developments related to arms control, beginning with the Baruch Plan of 1946 and ending with the nuclear nonproliferation treaty of 1968.

1682

VIETNAM AND THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD: AN ANALYTICAL SYMPOSIUM. Michigan quarterly review, v. 7, July, 1968: 151-165.

AS30, M48, v. 7

Excerpts, revised in light of subsequent events, of analyses presented before a bipartisan group of 19 Congressmen and read into the Congressional Record for Dec. 15, 1967.

Contents. --The issues, by Alexander Eckstein. --The military options, by Walter Goldstein. --Political settlement and the future, by Rhoads Murphey. --The response of Vietnam's neighbors, by Roger M. Smith. --China and the Vietnamese conflict, by Richard H. Solomon. --A solution, by Alexander Eckstein.

Endeavors to formulate a reasonable settlement for Vietnam. Eckstein believes that the Korean-type settlement apparently sought by the U.S. Government in Vietnam is politically and militarily unattainable short of complete mobilization in the United States and total pulverization of Vietnam. Thus the United States must seek a compromise which might eventually mean considerable influence for the National Liberation Front in a South Vietnamese Government and perhaps eventual unification of the North and South. Goldstein claims that U.S. military strategy in Vietnam has failed and no military solution to save face for America or allow it to avoid an agonizing reappraisal of its role in future wars of national liberation has been enunciated. Murphey asserts that primary attention in Vietnam must be given to political problems--U.S. objectives cannot be gained by military means. A Vietnam unified through political processes would ensure the best outcome of the present dismal situation. Smith concludes that the United States has more to lose, as far as its relations with Vietnam's neighbors are concerned, from a protracted stalemate than from a negotiated withdrawal. Solomon contends that for this country to extricate itself from the conflict without leaving an unstable Vietnam ripe for Chinese manipulation the entire Indo-Chinese peninsula might have to be neutralized and given international security guarantees. Eckstein's solution is based on the assumption that our

alternatives in Vietnam range beyond mere escalation and withdrawal. He suggests the alternative solution of carefully phased withdrawal coupled with a political compromise. This, he argues, has a much better chance of maintaining stability than our present course.

1683

WHAT NEXT AT GENEVA? Nature (London) v. 219, July 20, 1968: 211. Q1, N2, v. 219

Even if the nonproliferation treaty "represents the triumph of good intentions over harsh reality, nobody should complain." Admittedly the treaty has serious technical and political weaknesses. Nevertheless it has opened the way to agreement on more ambitious and meaningful measures--in particular a U.S.-Soviet limitation on missile and antimissile systems. The enormous costs of these systems and the danger that antimissile installations will introduce new instability into the relations between the superpowers are ample incentive for the United States and the Soviet Union to get down to serious talks on these problems. On the other hand it is precisely this possibility of destabilization that requires these two powers to proceed with caution. Sudden and drastic limitations on numbers of missiles might eliminate the second-strike capability of both powers and thus put a premium once again on using nuclear weapons for rapid response rather than as a last resort. This kind of agreement will not be worked out at Geneva. However, the outlook for a ban on underground tests, discussions on chemical and biological weapons, and a limitation on the rate of manufacture of nuclear explosives is much brighter.

## B. REDUCTION OF THE RISK OF WAR

### 1. Escalation

### 2. Conventional Arms Transfers

1684

Alexandros, L. [THE NEAR EAST] Nahost. Wehr und Wirtschaft, v. 12, June 15, 1968: 269. U3, W38, v. 12

Points out West German prospects of selling military aircraft to Israel. After France's prolonged embargo on weapons sales to Israel, the latter started looking for other suppliers of military aircraft, among them Sweden, although purchases from that country would pose "unsurpassable political problems."

1685

FRANCE AND THE MIDDLE EAST: DESERT MIRAGES. Economist, v. 227, Apr. 20, 1968: 37. HGII, E2, v. 227

Considers France's embargo on military aircraft to Israel and sale of 52 Mirage planes to Iraq part of its tactics to gain oil concessions in the Middle East.

1686

Hanning, Hugh. LESSONS FROM THE ARMS RACE. Africa report, v. 13, Feb. 1968: 42-47. illus. DTI, A217, v. 13

"Based on a talk given at Chatham House on October 31, 1967."

The 1967 Middle East war has demonstrated that after the outbreak of hostilities in developing countries exte-

rior powers have little to gain and much to lose. In the Nigerian war, foreign assistance was needed to subdue Biafra. Thus the Nigerian Government sought jet aircraft from Britain and other Western countries, but providing these weapons would have represented a departure from Britain's policy of supplying defensive arms only. The Soviet bloc agreed to supply the aircraft others had declined to send. However, the Soviet bloc may not reap any benefits from its arms sales since the Nigerian Government, like military governments in other developing countries, resists communism for patriotic reasons and fears the commissar system within the armed forces. Westerners often do not see that opportunistic conventional arms sales throughout the Third World can be counterproductive. For one thing weapons may end up in hands other than those for which they were intended. And the Nigerian situation may mark the beginning of a new round in the arms race, because almost every African country has a secession problem of some kind and will try to preserve unity by buying sophisticated weapons. Friends of Africa, including Britain, can help it to help itself by giving civil aid, by ensuring a supply of purely defensive arms to developing countries, by detaching for duty to African training missions the best white officers, and by coming to the aid of the African countries before situations become as critical as the current one in Nigeria. An impartial Commonwealth force is clearly needed to restrain the feuding parties while they are working out their differences.

### 3. Nuclear Proliferation

1687

Bechtoldt, Heinrich. [THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC AND THE NUCLEAR NONPROLIFERATION TREATY] Die Bundesrepublik und der Atomsperrvertrag. Außenpolitik, v. 19, May 1968: 257-260.

D839.A885, v. 19

The nuclear nonproliferation draft treaty submitted in March 1968 by the 18-Nation Committee on Disarmament to the United Nations is in fact a solely Soviet-American product. There have been several drafts since 1962; the last takes into consideration many reservations by the nonnuclear-weapon nations. Article 5 for instance even allows them to use nuclear explosives for nonmilitary purposes. This draft subjects only the traffic in nuclear fuels and the installations, to international inspection. The draft is ambiguous, however, on the role of the European Atomic Energy Community in control. Despite assurances to the contrary, the proposed treaty discriminates against the "have-nots," allowing foreign interference in their domestic affairs. This point is raised mostly by the Third World nations. Most of them want the treaty to be instrumental in nuclear disarmament and the consolidation of world peace. India realistically also wants better security guarantees for nonnuclear signatories. Fortunately for Germany many states in the United Nations, where Germany is not represented, have raised reservations to the treaty. Moscow has so far singled out only Bonn to blame for obstructing conclusion of the treaty.

1688

Brandon, Henry. THE KREMLIN CONDESCENDS. Saturday review, v. 51, July 27, 1968: 6-7.  
Z1219 .A25, v. 51

Mistrust of Mr. Nixon was certainly not the sole cause of the Soviet readiness to discuss limitation of

offensive and defensive missiles. Probably the present technological and psychological circumstances have been found favorable for such talks. Russia has achieved parity with the United States in land-based long-range missiles, onsite inspection has become less important with the development of photography from spy satellites, and allocation of resources worries the Russians no less than the Americans. Thus the Soviet leaders abandoned their emphasis on strong defense, feeling that it does not offer immunity from penetration, and, along with the Americans, included offensive weapons in the discussion. The maintaining of the U.S.-Soviet dialog is paramount for the Russians, and they like to underscore the Soviet Union's superpower status and the interests they share only with the United States. The Soviet attitude is probably also designed to warn the Soviet Union's East European allies not to bank on any future special relations with the United States, since the United States gives high priority to relations with the Soviet Union. The impact of events in Eastern Europe on the Soviet decision also cannot be underestimated. The Russians might fear that, just at the moment when Soviet military power has virtually caught up with the Communist doctrine of universality, [and] this doctrine is beginning to die on the vine, these events might undermine the exclusive power of the Communist Party, produce internal chaos in the East European countries, and have far-reaching repercussions in the Communist world.

1689

Brezaric, Dr. THE UN AND NON-PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. Review of international affairs, v. 16, May 20, 1968: 12, 25.

D839.R4, v. 19

In its discussion of the treaty on nonproliferation of nuclear weapons the U.N. General Assembly is to take a stand on a treaty jointly submitted by the United States and the Soviet Union. This method of reaching agreement is not new; it was used in the case of the Moscow test ban treaty, which also was an agreement between the two superpowers, who wanted it to be supported, signed, and ratified by all members of the United Nations. But then all countries undertook obligations along with the two big powers, whereas now others are to undertake obligations while the two big powers refuse to do so. Although the treaty will undoubtedly pass, the mood in the General Assembly is one of resignation. The members are not at all convinced that this type of treaty is the one on which equal relations in the world can be developed.

1690

Düniker, Gustav. [GIVING UP FREEDOM OF ACTION? REMARKS ON THE PRINCIPAL PRONOUNCEMENTS BY THE SWISS FEDERAL COUNCIL IN REGARD TO THE NUCLEAR ARMS QUESTION] Verzicht auf Handlungsfreiheit? Zu den grundsätzlichen Äusserungen des Bundesrates zur Atomwaffenfrage. Allgemeine schweizerische Militärzeitschrift, v. 134, Feb. 1968: 61-64.  
U3.A43, v. 134

Switzerland is interested in a nuclear nonproliferation treaty from which no actual or potential nuclear power abstains and that comes into force only after a truly great number of states, including all nuclear nations, have ratified it. This position transpired from a November 1967 aide memoire by the Swiss Federal Council to the 18-Nation Committee on Disarmament that included reservations to provisions in the proposed nonproliferation treaty that discriminate against nonnu-

## V. SPECIFIC PROBLEMS AND LIMITED MEASURES

clear states in the areas of national security and economic development. However, the new draft treaty presented in January 1968 by the United States and the Soviet Union disregards the Swiss reservations almost completely. Switzerland, not a member of the Committee or the United Nations, can only indirectly influence their decisions. Situated on a "perimeter of conflicts," Switzerland despite its smallness can assert itself in international decisions bearing on its security, provided it really knows the options available. For want of authoritative Swiss data the nation's defense policy runs the risk of delusion. Thus on December 18, 1967, Federal Councilman Spühler forecast the diminishing deterrence value against the superpowers of nuclear weapons in the hands of small and medium-sized nations. However, a general but limited war in Europe is possible, a war that would see the use of nuclear arms confined to areas lying outside each superpower's heartland. In this case the most likely area for nuclear activity by the superpowers would be the Alps. Nuclear weapons dispersed among several independent control centers (nations) would be a more persuasive deterrent to such a war than a big-power nuclear monopoly.

1691

DISARMAMENT COMMITTEE ADOPTS REPORT TO GENERAL ASSEMBLY. UN monthly chronicle, v. 5, Apr. 1968: 46-50. JX1977.A1U564, v. 5

Announces the adoption of a report to the General Assembly on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons by the 18-Nation Committee on Disarmament and presents the complete text of the revised draft nuclear nonproliferation treaty as submitted in the report. The report, which was cosponsored by the Soviet Union and the United States and approved on March 14, also contains documentation of Committee proceedings and includes a copy of the Security Council resolution sponsored by the United Kingdom, the United States, and the Soviet Union on the question of guaranteeing the security of nonnuclear nations in the event of nuclear aggression.

1692

Goldberg, Arthur J. U.S. CALLS FOR PROMPT ENDORSEMENT BY THE U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE DRAFT TREATY ON THE NONPROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. In U.S. Dept. of State, Department of State bulletin, v. 58, May 20, 1968: 635-645. JX232.A33, v. 58  
"Statement by Arthur J. Goldberg, U.S. Representative to the General Assembly, made in Committee I (Political and Security) on April 26," 1968.

Calls for prompt action by the General Assembly to approve the draft treaty on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons. Goldberg first describes the important contributions made by the nonnuclear-weapon states to the work of drafting the treaty. He then undertakes to prove that the treaty contributes equally to the security of nuclear-weapon and nonnuclear-weapon states; that it is equitable in its apportionment of obligations and benefits among these states; that it will promote, not inhibit, the peaceful application of nuclear technology; and that it will help to bring an end to the arms race and spur new progress toward disarmament.

1693

Hudson, Richard. THE N.P.T.: NUCLEAR WATER-SHED. War/peace report, v. 8, Apr. 1968: 3-5. P&GP RR

The proposed nuclear nonproliferation treaty (NPT) under consideration by the second session of the 22d U.N. General Assembly is one of the most significant documents ever brought before the United Nations. Although it will not necessarily assure international peace, the NPT "will strengthen the world consensus that it is illegitimate to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons." The remarkable cooperation between the Soviet Union and the United States in the drafting of the NPT is further manifested in their joint support of a draft resolution in which, together with Britain, they pledge their assistance through the Security Council in the event of actual or threatened nuclear aggression. Many nonnuclear states have requested that guarantees against nuclear aggression be explicitly included in the treaty and have complained that the treaty is unfair since it prohibits the entry of new members into the nuclear club but imposes few restrictions on the current nuclear powers. However, because the small powers are expected to side with the major powers in support of the treaty and France is expected to abstain in the voting, the treaty will probably make it through the General Assembly with only minor changes. Despite its failure to attract universal support and to commit the major powers to a specific first step toward disarmament, the NPT should prove to be a milestone in international relations. Not only will it embody a legal commitment by near-nuclear powers not to acquire nuclear weapons and pressure the nuclear powers to curtail the arms race, but in conjunction with the Security Council resolution it will place both superpowers in the role of world nuclear policemen. Soviet-American cooperation cannot provide a permanent peace but it "may be the best security basis we can devise for the years immediately ahead."

1694

JSP NUCLEAR POLICY: THE WAY FOR JAPAN'S NON-NUCLEARIZATION AND FOR NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT. Japan Socialist review, no. 152, Mar. 15 1968: 1-10. HX9.J3, 1968

The tremendous destructive potential of nuclear weapons makes it imperative for Japan to cooperate with all peace-loving peoples to rid the world of this terrible menace. While the Sato government has agreed to the three principles for nonnuclearization of Japan (not producing, holding, or bringing in nuclear weapons), it has refused to accept a declaration on nonnuclearization based on these principles and espouses a nuclear policy that is obviously contrary to them. By supporting the need for peaceful uses of nuclear power without accepting the nonnuclearization declaration, the Government could easily promote a transition from peaceful to military uses. The U.S.-Japan Security Treaty clearly violates the three principles since it brings Japan under the American nuclear umbrella and is bound to result in the establishment of a Japanese nuclear security system. Moreover, reliance on American nuclear strategy could involve Japan in nuclear war. Japan should step out of the shadow of nuclear war by abolishing the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty and begin to pursue a line of positive neutrality. It must adopt the nonnuclearization declaration and negotiate with all nuclear powers to accept it. Henceforth the Government should actively promote disarmament objectives and work for the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in Asia and the Pacific. While Japan must renounce nuclear weapons, it can safely support a program for the peaceful uses of nuclear power that is based on the nonnuclearization declaration and is open to inspection by an international agency.

1695

Katzenbach, Nicholas de B. THE NUCLEAR NONPROLIFERATION TREATY--A VITAL STEP IN BRINGING THE ATOM UNDER CONTROL. In U.S. Dept. of State. Department of State bulletin, v. 58, May 20, 1968: 648-650. JX232.A33, v. 58

"Address made before the annual meeting of the American Society of International Law at Washington, D.C., on April 26," 1968.

Argues for acceptance of the proposed treaty on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons. Katzenbach focuses his discussion on three features of the treaty--the provisions dealing with safeguards, those relating to the peaceful uses of nuclear explosives, and those calling upon the nuclear powers to make progress toward disarmament.

1696

Keens-Soper, Maurice. NEGOTIATING NON-PROLIFERATION. World today, v. 24, May 1968: 189-196. D410.W63, v. 24

The nuclear nonproliferation treaty will "see the light of day later this year." The most perplexing problem, safeguards, has been ironed out. Both West Germany and Italy feared industrial espionage, but German worries went far beyond the economic issues. Germany accused Washington of rushing into an inspection agreement without consulting it, and there was talk of an "atomic confederacy." Another key issue in the amended January draft treaty is the peaceful use of atomic energy. Article 4 stipulates that nuclear nations have a clear obligation to help make available "the fruits of nuclear energy." The January draft also provides that the treaty remain in effect for 25 years, at which time member nations will convene a conference to decide whether it should continue indefinitely or for another specific period. Annex B of the draft treaty is an agreement between the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union to try to restore the balance between the obligations of the nuclear powers and those of the nonnuclear nations. It does not guarantee any precise military action to protect nonnuclear states, and this "reveals the dilemma of all attempts to proffer security in this manner." The value of a security assurance depends not only on the guarantor but on whether the state that is guaranteed has confidence and trust in the guarantor's pledge.

1697

Netherlands (Kingdom, 1815- ) Adviescommissie Maakte Vraagstukken van Ontwapening en Internationale Veiligheid en Vrede. The problem of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and nuclear co-operation within NATO: interim report of the Advisory Committee on Problems of Disarmament and International Security and Peace. Unofficial translation. [The Hague? 1966?] 514. JX1974.7.N43

Bibliographical footnotes.

Partial contents. --Introduction. --Meaning of the term "nuclear proliferation." --Actual prospects of nuclear proliferation. --Appraisal of the consequences of nuclear proliferation. --Basic considerations of non-proliferation policy. --The problem of nuclear co-operation within NATO. --Conclusions regarding the non-proliferation treaty and nuclear co-operation within NATO.

Analyzes the problem of the compatibility of a non-proliferation treaty with proposals to allow nonnuclear-weapon states in the Atlantic alliance co-responsibility

in nuclear affairs. The committee recognizes the urgency of both these matters and the element of tension that exists between them. It believes that a "consultative voice" arrangement on nuclear decisionmaking within the alliance can be worked out that would not constitute a form of nuclear proliferation. At the same time, however, it emphasizes that nonproliferation policy must take priority over internal alliance policy concerning the control of nuclear weapons.

1698

[THE NEW DRAFT OF THE NUCLEAR NONPROLIFERATION TREATY] Der neue Entwurf des Atomsperrvertrags. Atomwirtschaft--Atomtechnik, v. 13, Feb. 1968: 74. TK9001.A97, v. 13

Outlines the new draft treaty, especially provisions that guarantee nonnuclear signatories the right of peaceful utilization of nuclear energy and the broadest possible exchange of scientific information related to nuclear technology, and points out that the loose wording of article 3 (international control) could cause problems in interpretation.

1699

NON-PROLIFERATION. New times, no. 24, June 19, 1968: 1-2. D639.N483, 1968

The overwhelming endorsement of the draft nuclear nonproliferation treaty by the U.N. Political and Security Committee is a major step toward world peace. Although its opponents, particularly the West German revanchists, did their best to block the treaty, it was accepted by a vote of 92 to 4, with 22 abstentions. In its consideration of the treaty the Committee made a number of constructive revisions, including an addition to the preamble that reinforced guarantees for nonnuclear nations, an amendment to ensure the rights of the nonnuclear states to share in the benefits of peaceful uses of nuclear explosions, and one to commit all signatories to undertake effective measures to end the arms race and begin nuclear disarmament. The treaty should have no trouble receiving General Assembly approval and once in force should prove an effective barrier to the spread of weapons of mass destruction.

1700

NON-PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS: GENERAL ASSEMBLY COMMENDS TREATY. UN monthly chronicle, v. 5, July 1968: 19-25. JX1977.A1U564, v. 5

Reports the General Assembly commendation of the nonproliferation treaty in a resolution adopted on June 12 by a vote of 95 to 4, with 21 abstentions. In explaining their votes, a number of delegates stated that the resolution did not go far enough in guaranteeing nonproliferation, whereas others declared it to be a significant step in the direction of general disarmament. The article also summarizes the statement by President Johnson lauding the Assembly action and the final consideration of the revised draft treaty within the Political and Security Committee. The text of the Assembly resolution is appended.

1701

NON-PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS: SECURITY COUNCIL ADOPTS RESOLUTION. UN monthly chronicle, v. 5, July 1968: 3-13. JX1977.A1U564, v. 5

Announces the adoption by the Security Council of a resolution pledging assistance under the provisions of

the U. N. Charter to all nonnuclear states party to the nuclear nonproliferation treaty that are subjected to acts or threats of nuclear aggression, welcoming the offer of immediate aid to victims of nuclear aggression by the Council's nuclear-weapon states, and reaffirming the right of all U. N. members to individual or collective self-defense. Most Council members declared the resolution would provide a strong deterrent to nuclear aggression even though it would not absolutely guarantee the security of nonnuclear-weapon states. However, a minority of representatives maintained that the guarantees supplied by the resolution were totally inadequate and abstained from voting. The text of the resolution followed by the U. S., British, and Soviet declarations of support are appended.

1702

[NONPROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS, THE PROBLEM OF SECURING PEACE] Nichtverbreitung von Kernwaffen. Ein Problem der Friedenssicherung. Witten, Eckart-Verlag, 1968. 161 p. (Forschungen und Berichte der Evangelischen Studiengemeinschaft, Bd. 22) JX1974.7, NS

Contents. --Introduction, by L. Raiser. --pt. 1. Prerequisites. Development of nuclear technology, by Jürgen Seetzen. Surveillance of peacetime nuclear technology, by Dipak Gupta. The problem of proliferation of nuclear weapons, by J. R. Schlesinger. --pt. 2. Discussion. The guarded and the unguarded: inspection in the nuclear treaty, by Arnold Krantich. Nuclear control through black boxes alone, by Carl Friedrich v. Weizsäcker. Problems of military and industrial use of nuclear energy, by Günter Howe. --pt. 3. Documentation. Draft nuclear nonproliferation treaty issued in February 1967. The April 19, 1967, resolution by the Council of British Churches on nonproliferation and control of nuclear weapons. The April 1967 memorandum by the German Federal Government on the nuclear nonproliferation treaty. The April 27, 1967, declaration by Willy Brandt, the German Federal Minister of Foreign Affairs, on the nuclear nonproliferation treaty. Identical drafts of the nuclear nonproliferation treaty submitted in Geneva on August 24, 1967, by the two Co-chairmen. Five requests by Euratom. --Concluding remarks, by L. Raiser and G. Howe.

A collection of essays, documents, and official pronouncements on the nuclear proliferation problem and proposed solutions. L. Raiser and G. Howe in their concluding remarks urge the German Federal Government to sign the proposed nonproliferation treaty without hesitation once agreement is reached on international inspection under the treaty.

1703

NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY: COMMITTEE CONCLUDES DEBATE. UN monthly chronicle, v. 5, June 1968: 65-78. JX1977. A1U564, v. 5

Reports the views of various members of the U. N. Political and Security Committee regarding the draft treaty and presents the amendments to the draft proposed by Committee members. Representatives from both nuclear and nonnuclear countries urged the swift ratification of and adherence to the treaty and called for the prompt negotiation of additional disarmament measures. While delegates from a number of nonnuclear-weapon states expressed skepticism about the question of guarantees and criticized the privileged position given the nuclear powers in the treaty, most representatives were willing to overlook its shortcomings and

accept the treaty as a significant step toward disarmament. However, spokesmen from Albania, India, Cuba and several African states rejected the treaty in its present form, and some representatives refused to make a definite commitment before further examination of the treaty's implications.

1704

NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY: WILPF DISAPPOINTMENT. Pax et libertas, v. 33, Jan.-Mar. 1968: 7. P&L-P RI

Taken in part from a letter by Gertrude Baer, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom's U. N. Representative, to E. L. M. Burns, Co-Chairman of the 18-Nation Committee on Disarmament, and his reply.

Criticizes the amended nuclear nonproliferation treaty of January 18, 1968, for not including a pledge by the nuclear nations to renounce use of nuclear weapons against nonnuclear countries. The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom opposes the nonproliferation treaty on the grounds that it sanctions the nuclear monopoly of the United States and the Soviet Union, fails to provide for a ban on underground nuclear testing, and does not include a cutoff agreement or freeze on nuclear weapons.

1705

[NUCLEAR-ECONOMIC LAW] Atomwirtschaftsrecht. Atomwirtschaft--Atomtechnik, v. 13, Apr. 1968: 178-180. TK906: A97, v. 13

Includes an examination of a new draft of the nuclear nonproliferation treaty, presented by the United States and the Soviet Union, and reservations of nonnuclear members of the 18-Nation Committee on Disarmament to some of the draft's provisions. These, together with American, Soviet, and British security guarantees to nonnuclear parties to the proposed treaty, were sent by the Committee to the U. N. General Assembly for consideration on March 14, 1968.

1706

A NUCLEAR FRAUD JOINTLY HATCHED BY THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION. Peking review, v. 11, June 21, 1968: 17-18.

DS701. P42, v. 11  
Reprinted from *Jen min jih pao*, June 13, 1968.  
HX389 J38

The Chinese people adamantly oppose the so called treaty on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons concocted by the American imperialists and Soviet revisionists as part of their collusion to suppress the revolutionary peoples of the world. The treaty is a plot to perpetuate the Soviet-American nuclear monopoly and place all other nations at their mercy. By promising nuclear protection to nonnuclear states that subscribe to the treaty, the Soviet renegade clique and American imperialists are attempting to trick other states into becoming their "protectorates." In addition they are using the treaty to "accelerate the rigging up of an anti-China encirclement" and fan anti-Chinese feeling around the world. However, many countries oppose this fraud and will not be bullied into submission by the American and Soviet nuclear overlords. While the American aggressors and Soviet revisionists believe that the treaty will enable them to hold back the revolutionary tide, they will find that their nuclear weapons are powerless against the will of the people.

1707

Pillai, Narayana. NUCLEAR MORALITIES. Far Eastern economic review, v. 60, June 20, 1968: 606-608. HC411. FIC, v. 60

The issue of morality in the nuclear arms race has shifted from the struggle between nuclear powers to a struggle among the nuclear "haves" and "have nots." India has become the focal point in this drama owing to its change from an idealistic nuclear policy to one of protecting its national interests. India has refused to sign the nuclear nonproliferation treaty because it fails to include firm guarantees against nuclear blackmail, to prevent vertical as well as horizontal proliferation, or to prohibit deployment of nuclear weapons on the territories of nonnuclear states and training of their armies in the use of nuclear weapons. Leading the losing battle of the "threshold countries," India has "had to face the moral opprobrium of opposing a benevolent Treaty." If India, in continuing its refusal to sign, encourages West Germany to follow suit, this could endanger Russian security and affect the balance of power in Europe. The United States, Russia, and Britain might then be tempted to pressure India by withholding aid. Fortunately India's economic condition deters it from joining the nuclear arms race; "even nuclear morals are subservient to the hard realities of every day economics."

1708

A PLEA TO GENEVA: "LET US HAVE GENUINE CONTROL OF THE ATOM." In Germany (Federal Republic) Presse und Informationsamt. Bulletin, a weekly survey of German affairs, v. 16, Mar. 12, 1968: 61-63. DD259. A35, v. 16

Text of the German Federal Republic's Mar. 8, 1968, memorandum to the Geneva Disarmament Conference on the proposed nuclear nonproliferation treaty.

The German Federal Government "supports the principle of non-dissemination of nuclear weapons." In its April 7, 1967, memorandum to all governments it suggested certain improvements for the proposed nonproliferation treaty. Some have been included in the new draft treaty of January 18, 1968, and the others should be taken into consideration so that the proposed treaty will be universally acceptable and viable. The treaty should be linked with the disarmament problem in more concrete terms than in the present draft in order to pave the way for a comprehensive disarmament agreement. Since the renunciation of the nuclear option by nonnuclear parties to the treaty could adversely affect their security, the treaty should ban the use of threats, political pressure, or political blackmail against any nonnuclear party. It should also be more adaptable to world technological, political, and economic changes so that the interests of nonnuclear parties will not be impaired by it. In addition, the treaty obligations should weigh equally on nuclear and nonnuclear parties.

1709

Rusk, Dean. GAINING THE FULL MEASURE OF THE BENEFITS OF THE ATOM. In U.S. Dept. of State. Department of State bulletin, v. 58, May 20, 1968: 632-634. JX232. A33, v. 58

Address made before the Fordham University Club of Washington, D.C., on May 2, 1968.

Commends past and present U.S. policy on the control and exploitation of nuclear energy. Rusk reviews the record of unsuccessful postwar attempts by the United States to have the atom brought under interna-

tional control and enumerates the more recent limited successes in this field--the limited test ban treaty, the Antarctic treaty, and treaties to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons to space and Latin America. He enters a strong plea for approval of the nonproliferation treaty and speculates on the benefits shortly to be had from peaceful applications of nuclear energy.

1710

Smith, Bruce L. R. THE NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY AND EAST-WEST DETENTE. Journal of international affairs, v. 22, no. 1, 1968: 89-106. JX1. C6, v. 22

Three international trends are critical to the problem of nonproliferation: the emerging détente between East and West, the continuing technological revolution in civilian uses of nuclear energy, and the growing disarray within the European alliances of the superpowers. Détente has led to a number of formal or tacit arms control agreements but has not reduced the political rivalry of the superpowers or permitted adoption of measures to deal with the underlying causes of conflict. NATO, by stabilizing Europe and thus eliminating it as a political temptation to the Soviet Union, makes a crucial contribution to a relaxed atmosphere, and the United States must therefore give priority to a viable NATO or its equivalent--even if that means putting the interests of its European allies before its own interest in the nonproliferation treaty. The chief European non-security interest threatened by the treaty is that of civilian applications of nuclear power. The Europeans are correct in their assertion that IAEA inspection would be discriminatory and liable to cripple progress in peaceful uses of nuclear energy. The United States should work for a treaty acceptable to all major industrial states and do so in such a way as to contribute to a revitalization of the Atlantic alliance. This probably will require that the United States eliminate the discriminatory character of the treaty, adopt a more modest view of the need for international inspection, and guarantee a supply of low-cost fuels to European consumers. Preventing the spread of nuclear weapons will prove to be a problem as refractory as that of general and complete disarmament. The most a treaty can do is "to satisfy the reasonable aspirations of the industrialized nations of Western Europe for a civilian nuclear economy, while providing some useful guarantee against the anarchic spread of fissile material."

1711

UNA-USA National Policy Panel on Stopping the Spread of Nuclear Weapons. STOPPING THE SPREAD OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS: A REPORT. [New York, 1967] 48 p. illus., map. JX1974.7. U2

Partial contents. --The nuclear setting: its dilemmas. --Peaceful uses of atomic energy: increasing benefits and potential dangers. --Security assurances for non-nuclear weapon powers: the options. --The durability of a non-proliferation treaty. --The compelling design: a more effective United Nations. --Memoranda of comment, reservation and dissent. --Appendix A: Draft treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. --Appendix B: Text of a letter from Albert Einstein to President Roosevelt, August 2, 1939. --Bibliography.

Explores the problem of how a treaty on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons can be made more acceptable, effective, and durable. The panel notes that burgeoning nuclear technology holds promise of benefits as well as dangers, which complicates enormously the

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problem of preventing the spread of nuclear weapons. On the issue of international inspection, where this complication is most evident, the panel strongly favors inspection by the International Atomic Energy Agency over any of the proposed alternatives such as Euratom. It recommends that security assurances to nonnuclear-weapon states be multilateral and within the framework of the United Nations but suggests further that the only certain solution to this problem is in perfecting the U. N. peacekeeping and security machinery as a whole. It foresees that the durability of the treaty will depend on the success of the superpowers in curbing the nuclear arms race, the willingness of France and China to adhere to the treaty, and the perfection of programs for the international sharing of civil nuclear resources and technology.

1712

Van Cleave, William R. THE NONPROLIFERATION TREATY AND FISSION-FREE EXPLOSIVE RESEARCH. *Orbits*, v. 11, winter 1968: 1055-1066. D039.068, v. 11

A major defect of the nuclear nonproliferation treaty is that it does not deal with the effect that nuclear research--especially in the area of fission-free nuclear explosives--will have on the treaty's objectives. While article 3 of the treaty prohibits nonnuclear nations from manufacturing or acquiring nuclear weapons and provides for the inspection of fissionable materials, these states can develop research programs to produce nuclear explosive devices that would be devoid of fissionable materials. The treaty ignores this problem because of the difficulty and unpopularity of safeguarding research, the disparagement of pure-fusion research in relation to weapons development, and the assumption that other countries must follow the fission weapons route. The treaty must take into account research programs in pure-fusion nuclear explosives whatever their outcome--early devices may be peaceful but could later be refined into weapons. As the treaty does not prohibit research, some nations will feel that this is a tacit acceptance of the testing of pure-fusion research devices. Once testing is accepted, any nation would be able to produce such devices, and proliferation would begin all over again.

1713

Vital, David. DOUBLE-TALK OR DOUBLE-THINK? A COMMENT ON THE DRAFT NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY. *International Affairs* (London) v. 44, July 1968: 419-433. JX1.153, v. 44

A viable nuclear nonproliferation treaty (NPT) depends on the cessation of the arms race by the nuclear powers and the dismantling of their nuclear establishments. This is impossible to envisage, since nuclear disarmament is highly improbable in the near or distant future. The assumption that only the nuclear powers may possess nuclear weapons while the nonnuclear powers are denied this right bodes ill for the future of the NPT. In addition the NPT contains within itself two dangers, diplomatic and necrotic. If the nonnuclear powers sign the treaty they will have lost the bargaining power to extract an arms reduction measure from the nuclear powers; and as long as the arms race continues it can only end in the total destruction of civilization. Aside from perpetuating the inequality of states, which is becoming incompatible with human survival, the NPT places too much emphasis on the superpowers' willingness and capacity to abstain from actions that would create international conflicts--the Middle

East and Southeast Asia are hardly encouraging examples. In effect it will do little to inhibit further horizontal or vertical nuclear proliferation.

1714

Zhukov, Iurii. URGENT PROBLEM. Daily review, translations from the Soviet press, v. 14, May 27, 1968: pt. 1, [item] 3, 1-6.

Slav Rm

Translated from Pravda, May 26, 1968.

Slav Rm

The draft nonproliferation treaty must be approved by all the nations of the world in order to avoid a nuclear holocaust. The enemies of the treaty-- West Germany, Japan, China, and Israel-- who procrastinate, contribute to the prospect of world destruction. Indeed, China's leaders have stated that the deaths of hundreds of millions of Chinese would do little harm because the people could always be replaced. Peking's advocacy of nuclear weapons for all countries is designed to rally all the Third World countries around the Chinese flag. On the other hand the Soviet Union will adhere to its statement to the Security Council that nuclear aggression or the threat of it will be repulsed under the laws of the U. N. Charter. The Soviet peace champions will strive to build an impenetrable wall against the further proliferation of nuclear weapons.

### 4. Other (Accidental War, Command and Control of Weapons, etc.)

1715

Maley, Leonard. NIPS--THE SYSTEM THAT INVENTED ITSELF. *Data*, v. 13, May 1968: 31-33. illus. P&GP RR

Chronicles the National Military Command System Information Processing System (NIPS) from its inception to proposals for future improvements. Among the advantages of a rapidly expanding worldwide command are its ability to provide identical information to all echelons and compatibility of hardware and software. Some of the problems facing NIPS are the handling of documentation and the integration of intelligence and operations in new computer installations. Whether these problems will be resolved depends upon whether Defense Department authorities can keep the momentum going in comm. and control systems.

1716

TRYING TO SLOW THE ARMS RACE. *Business week*, no. 2027, July 6, 1968: 23.

HC431, B87, 1968

Speaking at separate ceremonies attending the signing of the nonproliferation treaty (NPT), American and Soviet leaders aired plans for discussion on limiting offensive and defensive missiles. Any agreement to restrict their development and deployment would be the first time the two powers surrendered their freedom in this area; earlier bans governing nuclear explosions in the atmosphere and underwater and testing in outer space gave up little of significant military advantage. Now each power seeks to control the arms race. Before this Russia only wanted a curb on offensive missiles. "Just why the Soviets have agreed to talk is not clear." However, the successful conclusion of the NPT, the Vietnam peace talks, the apparent parity of arms capabilities, an infant Soviet antimissile system,

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and new warheads possessed by both sides may have created the climate for talks to begin. Any U.S. assent to parity would renew the debate in the United States. Even if Congress accepted the principle of parity, and Washington and Moscow found a formula to slow or halt the nuclear race, the problem of inspection or policing of missile systems would be a great obstacle. Unless Russia gives firm assurances and accepts inspection teams on its territory, the U.S. Senate would refuse to consent to such an agreement.

### C. REGIONAL

#### I. Tension Areas

1717

Adams, Thomas W., and Alvin J. Cottrell. CYPRUS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1968. 92 p. (Studies in international affairs, no. 7) D554.9.A63

Partial contents. --The roots of the contemporary problem. --Communism in Cyprus. --Soviet policy toward Cyprus. --U.S. policy toward Cyprus. --The outlook. --Greek-Turkish military balance (1967).

Contents that, although Cyprus per se is economically and militarily an insignificant factor in international affairs, it is a source of East-West tensions and contains the potential for escalation. The authors note that Russia has tried to exploit the Cypriot unrest in an effort to gain influence in this area and disrupt the Western alliance. The United States has had to walk a diplomatic tightrope so as not to strain its relations with Greece or Turkey, prime Communist targets on NATO's southern flank.

1718

Alekseev, Arik. ANOTHER BLOC? Daily review, translations from the Soviet press, v. 14, June 12, 1968: pt. 1, [item] 4, 1-2. Slav Rm  
Translated from Pravda, June 12, 1968. Slav Rm

At a ministerial conference in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, Singapore, Britain, Australia, and New Zealand discussed the consequences of the forthcoming (1971) withdrawal of British troops from Singapore and Malaysia and problems of the area's defense. But instead of adopting a sound policy of good-neighborly cooperation with all other countries as a guaranty of peaceful settlement of future conflicts, they discussed the formation of military blocs to be set up with the cooperation of the United States. Obviously they want to enmesh certain South Asian countries in a new political and military network, which can only aggravate the situation in Southeast Asia.

1719

Atroy, GH C. DYNAMICS OF VIOLENCE IN THE MIDDLE EAST. Reporter, v. 38, May 16, 1968: 23-25. D639.R385, v. 38

The explosive violence between the Arabs and the Jews derives not merely from antagonism but from irrational fears, of which both sides are guilty. The Arabs reject Jewish statehood. Their bitterness results from "the disastrous course of Muslim power in conflict with the West in modern history." To Moslems, the rightness of their faith is reflected in secu-

lar affairs; Islam achieved its greatest stature in those centuries in which it was politically supreme. However, Western industrial and scientific achievements--which Israel in part reflects--have brought mainly malaise and humiliation to Islam. Arab hatred for the Jews is not unlike Christian denigration of Semites. Although with the Arabs the Jews were never subjected to anything like the Nazi holocaust, indignities and bloodshed were a permanent part of their lives. Arab denigration of the Jews and their homeland has generated a profound insecurity in them, against which Arab threats become amplified. Territorial confinement also draws heavily on the meager psychological reserves of the Jews. The international community must share part of the blame for the violence in the Middle East. Support for Israel is limited, and many powers are embarrassed by their diplomatic ties with the Jewish state. Furthermore the general pro-Arab bias becomes more systematic in the United Nations where the Arab world is able to muster support to defeat any peace resolution it dislikes.

1720

ASIAN ROUNDUP. SEATO record, v. 7, Feb. 1968: 15-18. P&GP RR

Statement issued by a team of American political scientists and historians following a meeting at Tuxedo Park, N. Y., sponsored by the Freedom House Public Affairs Institute.

Although progress toward political equilibrium in Southeast Asia can be partly attributed to the gradual transition from an ideologically oriented to a more technically oriented leadership, the American presence has been the key to stability in this region. By protecting the area from Communist aggression, "the United States has bought time for some 200 million people to develop." If the United States were now to recognize a Communist victory in Vietnam, violence could erupt throughout all of Southeast Asia under the guise of national wars of liberation. While the United States should strive for gradual deescalation of the war, it must not allow Hanoi to conclude that the American forces will accept defeat because of internal political pressures. Even if the United States wins its basic objectives in Vietnam, it should not pull out of Southeast Asia since America's survival depends upon the maintenance of stability in this vital area. Only with substantial outside assistance can the nations of Southeast Asia follow a peaceful path toward economic and political reconstruction. Economic development problems can best be met through a multilateral assistance program that emphasizes regional cooperation. Although regional security will depend for some time upon the American nuclear umbrella, the U.S. forces based in Southeast Asia can be gradually reduced in line with technical developments and increased capabilities for self-defense by the countries concerned.

1721

Battle, Lucius D. THE COMMON THREADS LINKING THE COUNTRIES OF THE NEAR EAST AND SOUTH ASIA. In U.S. Dept. of State. Department of State bulletin, v. 58, May 13, 1968: 608-613. JX232.A33, v. 58

"Address made before the Cincinnati Chapter of Chartered Life Underwriters at Cincinnati, Ohio, on Apr. 18, 1968.

Surveys contemporary developments in the Near East and South Asia. The characteristics common to the otherwise diverse states of this region are political

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instability, mass poverty, and hypernationalism. A large number of these states are located on or near the perimeter of the Soviet Union and thus are vulnerable to the longstanding Soviet policy of exploiting instability in other countries to its own advantage. Most of them are caught up in regional arms races that squander resources needed for economic development. Not coincidentally, three major foci of tension--Israel, Cyprus, and Kashmir--are found in this part of the world. But despite formidable difficulties, many of these states are making significant progress toward meeting the needs of their people, and self-interest, as well as humanitarianism, requires that the United States continue to assist them in their work.

1722  
Bellaev, Igor. **THE INVADERS' APPETITE**. Daily review, translations from the Soviet press, v. 14, May 29, 1968: pt. 1, [item] 3, 1.

Slav Rm

Translated from *Pravda*, May 29, 1968.

Slav Rm

The Israelis started the June 1967 war in order to seize territories they claim belong to Israel by "historical reasons." Israel is the chief obstacle to a negotiated settlement in the Middle East, and its present position only aggravates the situation. Israel should abide by the decisions of the U.N. Security Council, including the November resolution providing for the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the territories they occupied during the war. Tel Aviv must abandon its illusion that it can carve out territories at its pleasure. Although the Arab countries are ready for a political settlement, the Israeli aggressors should not regard this as a sign of weakness.

1723  
Bucher, Henry H., and others. **A SYMPOSIUM: THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE JUNE, 1967 ISRAELI-ARAB WAR**. Issues, winter 1967/spring 1968: 11-38. E838.18, 1967/68

Responses by eight distinguished intellectuals to an Issues request for independent evaluations of the 1967 Arab-Israeli War. Each symposiast discussed the events that led up to the war, the reaction to the war among American Jews, and the factors that should decide the attitude of non-Israeli Jews toward Israel. All contributors agreed that the Arab-Israeli conflict was a complicated manifestation of longstanding hostility and could not be explained by any specific events. However, opinions varied on the philosophical implications of the war and the proper psychological responses.

1724  
Classen, Wilhelm. **[EUROPE SEEN BY FRANCE; CONCEPTS OF THE FRENCH PARTIES]** Europa, wie Frankreich es sieht; die Konzeptionen der französischen Parteien. Politische Meinung, v. 13, no. 1, 1968: 81-90. H5.F75, v. 13

Outlines concepts of Europe and European unification held by various French political parties--from the Communist Party to Gaullist groups. Classen bases his analysis primarily on the parties' "documentary literature."

1725  
Crane, Robert Dickson. **REVOLUTIONARY REGIONALISM IN SOUTHEAST ASIA**. Reporter, v. 38, May 2, 1968: 11-16. map. D839.R385, v. 38

The populations of all Southeast Asian states consist of several different linguistic, ethnic, and cultural groups, one of which controls the state machine and thus rules over all the rest. When the subordinate groups rival the dominant group in numbers or culture and internal political organization, rebellion is likely to occur. For years revolutions born out of such situations have been building in Burma and Northeast India. Recently these previously ill-coordinated resistance movements have achieved a new level of political consciousness and organization under young leaders whose attitudes are significantly different from those of their elders. The new leaders are more discriminating in their acceptance of Western values and more respectful of their own native traditions, and they reject the primacy of state sovereignty and national independence, since the pursuit of these goals has brought the region to the edge of chaos. They stress communal solidarity rather than political centralization and work for the autonomy of their peoples within a region-wide, confederative framework. The Chinese Communists have attempted to exploit these movements but so far without success. Nevertheless, national leaders threatened by the revolts have attempted to blame them on a Chinese conspiracy with the hope of provoking American or Soviet intervention against the rebels. The Chinese would like nothing better than to embroil either of these countries in action against the dissidents, since only China stands to gain from such a development.

1726

**[THE CZECH CRISIS]** La crise tchèque [by] M. R. Perspectives, v. 24, May 18, 1968: [pt. 1, item 2] 4-6. HC10.P4, v. 24

The May 18 Moscow conference of obedient satellites disclosed that the Soviet Union is worried about developments in Czechoslovakia and may even consider military intervention, notwithstanding the danger that it might produce strong protests from other Communist countries. Why does Russia take Czechoslovak "revisionism" so seriously when it tolerated similar excesses in Rumania and Yugoslavia? The Rumanian and Yugoslav deviations do not weaken the strategic position of Russia, whereas Czechoslovakia is, with East Germany and Poland, a member of the Iron Triangle and a spearhead aimed at West Germany, Russia's worst enemy in Europe. Although the present status quo is the most ridiculous Europe has ever known, it suits Russia for the time being until it can be modified to Russia's advantage. Besides, the Russians fear the influence the Czechoslovak willingness to negotiate with the West could have on other satellites and the danger that the Warsaw Pact countries might be contaminated by Western freedom.

1727

Faust, Friedrich. **[THE ODER-NEISSE LINE AS A LEGAL PROBLEM; THE URGENCY AND IMPORTANCE OF A GOVERNMENT DECLARATION]** Die Oder-Neisse-Linie als Rechtsproblem; Notwendigkeit und Bedeutung der Regierungserklärung. Politische Meinung, v. 13, no. 1, 1968: 91-97. H5.P75, v. 13

Bonn's stand on the Oder-Neisse Line rests on the argument that it was established temporarily as a mere demarcation, that only a German peace treaty will be able to settle the Polish-German boundary problem and that the Potsdam Agreement, which established the line, cannot be binding for Germany under the international law, because it was concluded inter alios.

Therefore Germany's prewar boundaries are still valid. The German Federal Government has renounced use of force as a means for changing the demarcation line, but it has never renounced the German claims to the territories situated eastward of this line. Even if it wished to, it could not, because it lacks the mandate of the German people to do so. Periodic repetitions of Bonn's position statements are not enough to prevent Polish usurpation of these territories under international law. To prevent such prescription the Federal Government should contest Polish occupation of the territories and place periodic protests against it.

1728

Fichtner, Paula S. NPD-NDP: EUROPE'S NEW NATIONALISM IN GERMANY AND AUSTRIA. Review of politics, v. 30, July 1968: 308-315. JALR4, v. 30

German ethnic nationalism in Austria--an inheritance from the Hapsburg Empire and a potent political force before World War II--has shown little vitality in the postwar period, but the recent political successes of the neonationalistic Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands (NPD) in Germany may stimulate a revival. Not surprisingly, there is a strong resemblance between the NPD and the Nationaldemokratische Partei (NDP) formed last year in Austria. The programs of the two parties coincide in rejecting both liberal economic doctrines and Marxism, in demanding the protection of the Mittelstand and peasants from big business, and in stressing German national identity and pride. Despite these similarities, however, the Austrian party has rejected any thought of *anschluss* with Germany, or even collaboration with the NPD, and in all probability differences in circumstance and interests would make cooperation extremely difficult. The immediate goal of the NPD is the reunification of the two Germanies, but the party is realistic enough to admit that, with the present balance of forces in Europe, this can be accomplished only through negotiation and with the consent of the Soviet Union. Further, the very magnitude of the problems involved requires that the NPD pursue its goals within the present West German political framework. On the other hand the NDP's interests are less narrowly political. They would like to help German groups everywhere but most notably in South Tyrol, where they have been conducting a terrorist campaign to dramatize the plight of its German minority. The Austrian Government, which does not want to alienate the Italians, has firmly suppressed these activities, and the NDP has suffered a setback. The sudden rise of these two parties has evoked fears for the stability of central and Eastern Europe, but with the NPD concentrating on reunification within the limits of legal political activity and the NDP diminished in influence, neither party is a real danger.

1729

Gallo, Patrick J. UNDERSTANDING THE VIETNAM WAR. New university thought, v. 6, May/June 1968: 29-34. D839.N484, v. 6

Contents. --General background. --History. --The nature of the war. --The United States and Vietnam. --Vietnam and the cold war.

A bibliography of the Vietnam War. Gallo presents his selections in response to "the volatile and confusing elements in the Vietnam situation" that necessitate "continuous and intensive reappraisal of American policy in Vietnam and Southeast Asia."

1730

Garner, William R. THE SINO-SOVIET IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE IN LATIN AMERICA. Journal of Inter-American studies, v. 10, Apr. 1968: 244-255. FI401.J68, v. 10

By their doctrinal rejection of mass support and acquiescence in the slow pace of change, orthodox Communist parties in Latin America have provoked widespread defection from their ranks to the more extreme pro-Peking movements. The record of Soviet parties in Latin America has been discouraging from the very beginning. Geographical separation from the Soviet Union and a preponderance of American power in the region, as well as formidable class, ethnic, and cultural cleavages, have together constituted an unfavorable revolutionary environment. For a time the Cuban revolution seemed to herald a new historical phase, but the Soviet Union, after a period of reluctant material and ideological support of the Castroite cause, has adopted a policy of applying economic pressure to dampen rather than excite Cuba's revolutionary enthusiasm. Chinese penetration of Latin America did not begin until the late 1950's but since then has accelerated rapidly. The Chinese stress the similarity of the Latin American historical situation to their own, particularly with respect to the conditions of the peasantry and the struggle against imperialism. In opposition to orthodox Soviet policy they urge a hypervoluntarist theory of revolution, stress rural problems, and reject the doctrine of peaceful coexistence. The Chinese ideology does seem more appropriate to a region where feudalism and dictatorship are still the prevalent modes of economic and political organization. The outcome of the struggle between Soviet and Chinese factions will be determined by the populace not the ideologues. The more deep-seated the frustrations of the people, and the more pessimistic their attitudes, the more will they turn to a Chinese solution to their problems.

1731

Gasteyger, Curt. MOSCOW AND THE MEDITERRANEAN. Foreign affairs, v. 46, July 1968: 676-687. D410.F6, v. 46

The growing Soviet power in the Mediterranean area marks the end of one-power dominance in the Mediterranean and seems to indicate a desire on the part of the Soviet Union to develop "a strategy better suited to its ambitions as a superpower and to the support of its friends in time of crisis." By endeavoring to improve its strategic position in the Mediterranean, Russia may be attempting to establish a regional balance between the Soviet Union and its client states and the United States and its client states. However, Soviet ambitions in the Middle East could be blocked by Arab fears of neocolonialism and cautious elements in the Soviet leadership, who believe a long-term commitment would be too risky and place an undue burden upon the Soviet economy. Furthermore, as long as NATO's Mediterranean forces retain their superiority over the Russian fleet and the Russians do not have direct control over the main supply lines to the Mediterranean, the Soviet military position in that area will remain relatively weak. Nevertheless the increased Russian presence in the Middle East has spread the confrontation between the superpowers in Europe to the Mediterranean area. This new confrontation will probably never evolve into a durable coexistence because that area lacks the homogeneity needed to delineate spheres of influence. Since the superpowers can exert very little influence on

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the Mediterranean littoral, the small states are not restrained by fears of being dragged into a major conflict and can freely pursue their individual interests. "The greatest danger in the Mediterranean is not a direct clash between the superpowers but their lack of control over local conflicts, and the possibility of their eventually being drawn into them"

1732

Hoge, Thomas A. THE LONG STRUGGLE ON CYPRUS. American Legion magazine, v. 85, Aug. 1968: 24-28, 48-50. D570.A1A32, v. 85

Reviews the turbulent history of Cyprus. Strategically located at the crossroads of Asia, Africa, and Europe, Cyprus has been subjected to internal strife and repeated invasions for nearly 5,000 years. Currently the Turkish Cypriots are violently resisting the efforts of the island's Greek majority to join Cyprus to Greece. The latest threat of war between the two NATO powers occurred in 1967; the combined efforts of U.S. emissary Cyrus Vance, U.N. representative José Rolz-Bennett, and NATO Secretary General Manlio Brosio were required to subdue the crisis. While the island now appears relatively calm under the watchful eye of U.N. peacekeeping forces, the situation could explode at any time and once again bring the world to the brink of world war III.

1733

Howard, Michael E., and Robert E. Hunter. ISRAEL AND THE ARAB WORLD: THE CRISIS OF 1967. London, Institute for Strategic Studies [1967] 51 p. maps, tables. (Adelphi papers, no. 41) U162.A3, no. 41

Historical interpretation of the June 1967 Middle East war. The paper, which is intended primarily for military and international relations analysts, draws more upon Israeli than on Arab source material. The authors analyze the conflict, give a chronological account of the war, and review the crisis leading up to it. Information on the U.N. Emergency Force, the Jordan waters, and the armed forces involved is appended.

1734

Ignatius, Paul R. SOVIET SEA POWER SHIFTS TO STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE. Navy, v. 11, July 1968: 23-27. VA49.N28, v. 11  
Address to the South Carolina Bar Association in Charleston, S. C.

Describes the growth, present size, and composition of the Soviet Navy and its challenge to NATO forces in the Mediterranean. The Soviet Union has made major increases in the numbers of its surface and nuclear submarine forces and more recently has developed an amphibious capability. The mere presence of sizable Soviet naval units in the Mediterranean demonstrates that NATO no longer dominates the sea and gives the Russians effective support for their political maneuvers in the Near East and North Africa. At present, however, it is uncertain whether Soviet naval forces will be used to encourage or restrain Arab activism, to increase or dampen tensions in this troubled region.

1735

Kawar, Faud S., ed. THE ARAB-ISRAELI DISPUTE. Middle East forum, v. 43, no. 2/3, 1967: 5-75. DS41.M45, v. 4.

Partial contents. --Statement by the Alumni Association. --Israel's expanding frontiers. --Today and yesterday, by Constantine Zurayk. --Israel and Palestine, by Albert Hourani. --The Palestine problem at the United Nations, by George Hakim. --The dimensions of the Palestine problem, by Henry Cattani. --United States policy and the Middle East, by James F. Sams. --The Arab people and the Arab-Israeli conflict, by Frank Harris. --The United States, Israel and the Arab States: The view from 1865, by Ray L. Cleveland.

Articles on the Arab-Israeli dispute written in the light of the June 1967 Arab-Israeli War and its immediate aftermath. These articles uphold the Arab position in the dispute with Israel over the possession of Palestine and stress the justice of the Arab cause and the failure of the West, particularly the United States, to understand and support the Arab viewpoint. A central concern is to discover what must now be done to ensure that the final outcome of the conflict will be favorable to the Arabs. As this implicitly raises questions of national power, the Arab defeat is seen by the authors as a practical test of the vitality or power-generating potential of existing Arab political and social institutions.

1736

Kennedy, William V. A QUERY ON THE MIDDLE EAST. America, v. 118, June 29, 1968: 814. BX801.A5, v. 118

Although the United States has a moral obligation to Israel, it should reassess the importance of the Middle East to its national interests before publicly committing itself too deeply to Israel. Development of oil resources in other parts of the world and the emergence of long-endurance jet aircraft have considerably lessened the economic and strategic importance of the Middle East. Since the Soviet Union can easily overfly the Middle East "land bridge" and has increased its naval forces in the Mediterranean, its need to control the area has also diminished. The principal remaining function of the land bridge is to provide for the movement of land forces, and neither the United States nor Russia is likely to launch an invasion across this territory. Therefore America retains "little more than a negative interest in the region, in the sense of assuring that the Soviets do not gain by political action the land bridge to Africa that they can gain now only by direct and unprofitable military action." In order to accomplish its limited strategic goals in the Middle East the United States must court the favor of the Arab States. The dilemma of seeking good relations with the Arabs while maintaining its humanitarian responsibilities toward Israel must be studied carefully, and political aspirants must be requested not to exacerbate the situation by outspoken advocacy of Israel.

1737

Kotyk, Václav. PROBLEMS OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS. Journal of international affairs, v. 22, no. 1, 1968: 48-58. JX1.C6, v. 22

Increasing East-West cooperation is a consequence of changed historical conditions that have given rise to new objective needs and interests for Socialist and non-Socialist countries. An explication of the approach of the majority of Socialist states to the problems of East-West relations with emphasis on the new conceptual elements in the policies of these states will help to avoid misunderstandings in the West that could jeopardize rapprochement. Many in the West continue to assume

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that Socialist, and particularly Russian, foreign policy is expansionist. The truth, however, is that the Soviet Union has pursued a policy of peace practically from its birth. The Soviet Union recognizes that changed historical conditions--particularly modern armaments--require the total and permanent exclusion of war from international life. It foresees a continuation of the East-West struggle, but only in the economic and ideological spheres. Other more concrete and positive interests further encourage rapprochement. Socialist states have begun to look to the West for more fruitful economic relationships and to show a growing interest in all-European schemes of integration, cooperation, and division of labor. The process of differentiation taking place among Socialist states and their resulting independence open up new opportunities for bilateral economic and cultural agreements with the West. Some elements in the West would like to exploit this new-found independence, but such a policy can only undermine trust in the claim that the West wants to build bridges to the East. American intervention in Vietnam limits the possibility of cooperative relations with the United States. On the other hand, De Gaulle's attempt to emancipate Europe from American leadership has done much to encourage the new climate of all-European rapprochement. If rapprochement is to become a reality, however, the West must be willing to accept the boundaries created in central Europe by World War II and the existence of the two Germanies. The Socialist countries follow the Federal Republic's new Ostpolitik with great interest to see if it is willing to renounce all revisionist claims and accept the principles of peaceful coexistence.

1738

Kulandy, V. J. BULWARK OF FREEDOM--KINMEN. China today, v. 11, Feb. 1968: 26-28.

P&GP RR  
Digest of an article from Asian Outlook, v. 3, no. 1. DSI.A4716, v. 3

Located within 10 miles of the China mainland, Quemoy symbolizes the fortitude and skill of the free Chinese people in defying the Communist regime on the mainland. It is heavily fortified and defended day and night by dedicated soldiers stationed in underground habitats. The brave and vigilant soldiers are characteristic of the entire armed forces of Taiwan and indicate the ability of the Nationalist Chinese not only to defend themselves but to successfully invade the mainland and liberate their people.

1739

Lang, Daniel. AFTER THE SIXTH DAY. New Yorker, v. 44, May 18, 1968: 79-80, 82, 84, 86, 91-92, 94, 96, 98, 101-102, 104. AP2.N6763, v. 44

Conversations and observations in postwar Israel. Lang found the Israelis in the midst of a general and profound reassessment of national attitudes, which before the war had seemed permanently fixed in the national consciousness. The decisive victory over the Arabs has evoked a new feeling of nationhood among Israelis and restored to many that ancient sense of mission so characteristic of the Jewish people. Nevertheless, except among the orthodox Jewish minority, most Israelis remain staunchly anti-imperialistic and concerned with nation building, not conquest. The victory has made them more aware of the outside world--particularly the West and the Diaspora Jews--and consequently there is grave concern to maintain Israel's international reputation and good name. The loyalties

of the Arabs in Israel are divided and uncertain. The status of the Arab population is at the root of the Arab-Israeli conflict, and unfortunately no one has yet offered a practicable solution.

1740

Loomis, William. IS A RENEWAL OF THE KOREAN CONFLICT IMMINENT? Data, v. 13, June 1968: 12-14. P&GP RR

The chances for true peace in Korea are slim. The Communists are determined to humiliate the United States as long as it is involved in Asia and can do so by pulling the cork out of the Korean powder keg even if a settlement is reached in Vietnam. For this reason the United States is increasing the combat readiness of its forces in Korea by sending in officers with Vietnam experience and Special Forces teams and stepping up training for both conventional and anti-infiltration warfare. The South Koreans have developed a five-stage defense that consists of aerial surveillance, naval patrols, militia, combat police, and reserve battalions. Although the United States is entering a period of lengthy peace talks with North Vietnam it must continue to deal with the problems of South Vietnam and the frustrations of South Korea over the Pueblo affair.

1741

Marcus, Joel. THE LONG SEVENTH DAY. Midstream, v. 14, June/July 1968: 3-15.

DS140.A336, v. 14

Describes the situation in Israel 1 year after the 6-day war, and notes that in many respects it is still a country at war, citing specifically the high level of military preparedness and heavy military expenditures. The Arab terrorists, while not a serious threat, manage to keep Israel in a continual state of tension and, by forcing the Arab governments to lend them support, decrease the probability that some Arab country will eventually sit down with Israel to make peace. The Israelis intend to deal with terror by using counter-terror if necessary and will play a waiting game, holding firm until the Arabs decide they have exhausted every diplomatic and military possibility of removing Israel from the occupied territories.

1742

A NEW TEMPTATION FOR BONN. Intelligence digest, v. 30, May 1968: 5-7.

D410.R47, v. 30

Although the new East German constitution declares that Berlin is the capital of East Germany and thus violates all wartime and postwar Four Power agreements on Germany, no word of protest has been heard from Britain, France, or West Germany. The West is interested in European détente and does not want to antagonize Russia, which must have approved the new constitution. Besides omitting several previously guaranteed "rights" of the people, the constitution restricts travel and residence in areas adjoining other countries, including East Germany's Communist allies. This is a response to Czechoslovakia's decision to ease travel across the Czechoslovak-West German border. West Germany wants to improve its relations with Eastern Europe. If it decides to weaken its relations with the West and accepts the role of France's junior partner it will be in a better position to do so, and the Soviet buttressing of the East German regime may become an embarrassment for Moscow.

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1743

Nutting Anthony. **THE TRAGEDY OF PALESTINE FROM THE BALFOUR DECLARATION TO TODAY.** Issues, winter 1967/spring 1968: 1-10.

ES38, 18, 1967/68

"Public address preceding the twenty-third Annual Conference of the American Council for Judaism in New York City on November 2, 1967."

Reviews the tragic series of events in Palestine during its 50-year history as a refuge for Jewish people and appeals to the audience to pressure Israel into accepting just terms for peace in the Middle East. In 1917 the Arabs agreed to permit Jewish immigration with the understanding that the rights of the Arab majority would be safeguarded and with assurances that a Jewish home, not a Jewish state, would be created. However Britain, betraying its promise, permitted the formation of the Israeli state at the sacrifice of Arab property and lives. Despite the appalling history of Israeli atrocities, the Arabs are now prepared to respect the integrity of the state of Israel if the latter accepts a resolution currently before the U. N. Security Council requesting it to withdraw from the Arab territory seized last June and contribute to the resettlement of Arab refugees. Yet Israel refuses to make amends to the Arab people and continues to reinforce the Arab suspicion that "Israel was created and is still being used as a Western outpost to dominate an Eastern race." If the United States wants to dispel this belief, it should do everything possible to persuade the Israelis to cooperate with the Arabs in creating a binational, united Palestine.

1744

Perović, Puniša. **MEDITERRANEAN REALITIES.** Socialist thought and practice, no. 29, Jan./Mar. 1968: 90-97. HX335.5.S58, 1968

There is little prospect of halting the preparations for war in the Mediterranean. The United States continues to fortify its military presence and turn the Mediterranean into an "American sea." In fact, with the withdrawal of France from NATO and the incipient disintegration of the alliance, the race is becoming more feverish: nuclear forces have been concentrated in the south of Europe, multilateral naval forces have been deployed, and there have been frequent military maneuvers on land and sea. It is imperative that the Mediterranean peoples take the initiative to slow down the race and avert another war; the meeting of the 20 representatives in Rome last January was a positive step toward this goal. However, if peace and security are to be realized in the Mediterranean then all foreign elements that constitute a constant source of danger of war must be eliminated from the area.

1745

Reintanz, Gerhard. **[FOUNDATIONS IN INTERNATIONAL LAW FOR SOLUTION OF THE GERMAN PROBLEM]** Völkerrechtliche Grundlagen zur Lösung der deutschen Frage. Halle [Saale, Martin Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg] 1963. 34 p. (Wissenschaftliche Beiträge der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, 1966/10(B1)) ASI82, H125, 1966/10

Bibliographical notes: p. 26-34.

Contents. --For peace and security after World War II. --Prevention of new German aggression. --Germany capitulates. --What remained of the foundations in law laid down in 1945 for the solution of the German problem? --The Potsdam Agreement on Germany is still

valid. --The peace treaty. --Disarmament. --German confederation. --Europe and Germany. --The world and Germany.

Proposes that the German peace treaty be concluded by the Four Powers and their wartime allies with the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic either in the form of a single document or in two documents presented separately to each German state for signature. The problem of recognition of the German Democratic Republic can be avoided in the treaty, but Reintanz postulates that the treaty provide disarmament of the two German states. Such a treaty would be the most important step to German reunification.

1746

Rubinstein, Amnon. **IN VICTORY THERE IS NO PEACE.** New York times magazine, June 2, 1968: 32-34, 36, 38, 40, 42. AP2, N6575, 1968

One year after the 1967 Arab-Israeli War Israeli public opinion combines a new consciousness of national vitality with a pervasive sense of frustration. Victory over the Arabs confirmed the superior competence of Israeli arms and social institutions but at the same time shattered the Jewish dream that instant peace would follow a decisive defeat of the Arab states. The dream foundered on the unreality of Arab fanaticism, and the few recent signs that some Arab leaders are beginning to fight free of their delusions count for nothing against the flood of Arab hate. One hope for eventual accommodation rests on the increasing cooperation imposed by necessity on Arab inhabitants and Israeli conquerors in the occupied territories of Jordan, but any settlement there will require changes in the attitudes of the Arab Palestinians. The Israeli Government is deeply divided over what is to be done. Neither the Government nor the public has made up its mind as to what--besides peace and security--it wants. Attitudes range from those of the semiannexationists at one extreme to those of the Communists, who demand immediate withdrawal, at the other. The majority of the Israelis support the Government's present policy of not permitting any territorial changes without a peace settlement--and moreover a settlement with concrete guarantees. One of these undoubtedly will be the demilitarization of currently held territories. The Israelis do not want a repetition of the traumatic days of May.

1747

**[THE RUSSIANS IN THE MEDITERRANEAN]** Die Russen im Mittelmeer [by] \*\*\* [pseud.] Marine Rundschau, v. 65, Apr. 1968: 81-92. illus.

V3, M3, v. 65

Pseudonym \*\*\* denotes Near East contributors to Marine Rundschau.

The history of Russian efforts since the year 862 to win bases and establish its influence in the Mediterranean. The article considers the organization of the Soviet Mediterranean fleet, discusses the role of Soviet bases in the eastern Mediterranean, and lists 68 Soviet warships identified in the area in 1967. As in the past, Moscow's position in that sea is precarious, for it rests on friendships with Arab nations that are subject to revolutionary changes.

1748

Seifut'-Mullukov, F. **WASHINGTON'S MIDDLE EAST STRATEGY.** New times, no. 23, June 12, 1968: 8-10. D839, N483, 1968

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While the U.S. Government professes to seek settlement of the Middle East crisis, it is in effect impeding "the elimination of the consequences of the Israeli aggression and the establishment of durable peace in the area." Located at the crossroads between Asia, Africa, and Europe and exceedingly rich in oil resources, the Middle East has always been strategically and economically important to the United States. To protect its interests the United States has consistently supported reactionary authority in this area and has collaborated with Israel in resisting Arab liberation forces. Initially U.S. policymakers hoped the Israeli aggression of June 1967 would seriously weaken progressive Arab regimes and halt the progress of national liberation movements. However, when it discovered that the Israeli invasion had aroused widespread anti-American feelings in the Arab world, the United States announced it would seek a political settlement that would respect the territorial integrity of all Middle Eastern States. Since America has done nothing to prod Israel into seeking a suitable settlement, the announcement was obviously only for propaganda purposes. In reality the United States wants to delay a settlement as long as possible in hopes that prolonged Israeli occupation of Arab territory will bring about the political changes desired by the West. Despite efforts of U.S. policymakers to cover up massive economic and military support of Israel by wooing some of the Arab States with promises of aid, the Arab world is not fooled. As long as Washington refuses to perceive "the processes under way in the world today and the actual balance of forces in this area," its Middle East policies will be unsuccessful.

1749

Stöckl, Günther. [EASTERN EUROPE AND THE GERMAN; THE PAST AND PRESENT OF A NEIGHBORHOOD RICH IN TENSIONS] Osteuropa und die Deutschen; Geschichte und Gegenwart einer spannungsreichen Nachbarschaft. [Oldenburg] G. Stalling [1967] 232 p.

DR36, S87

Bibliographical references included in "Anmerkungen" (p. 207-224).

Partial contents. --From Tauroggen to Rapallo. --Balkanization and Mid-Europe. --From Vienna to Potsdam. --Facts and prospects.

States that the problems between Germany and its eastern neighbors cannot be solved on the basis of nation-state concepts. Created in the era of the first railways, these concepts are ill suited to the modern age of increasing interdependence between nations. Legalistic positions on issues between states are generally ignored by history.

1750

Ulbricht, Walter. A CONTRIBUTION OF THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC TO PEACE IN EUROPE: REPORT BY WALTER ULBRICHT AT THE 14TH SESSION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST UNITY PARTY OF GERMANY. [Translated by Intertext, DDR. Dresden] Verlag Zeit und Bild [1967] 15 p. (Documents on the national policy of the GDR, 8/1966) DD259.4, U37

Contents. --A new situation and its causes. --Parallels to the development of fascism before 1933. --The neo-nazi danger, not limited to the NPD. --Totalitarian

program to be realized with the help of the SPD. --What is the foreign policy program? --Torpedo against European security. --What kind of Germany do the SPD Ministers want. --What were the opportunities of the SPD? --Crisis can only be overcome by a new policy. --Nobody can escape realities. --What could be the main ideas of such a minimum program?

Propounds "a minimum program" for European peace and security comprising conclusion of a nuclear nonproliferation treaty, convocation of an all-European security conference, normalization of relations between the two German states, parallel defense cuts in the German Democratic and the German Federal Republics, and neutrality of the two German states guaranteed by other powers.

1751

WASHINGTON'S YESMEN IN ATHENS. Daily review, translations from the Soviet press, v. 14, May 30, 1968: pt. 1, [item] 3, 1-5.

Slav Rm

Translated from Izvestia, May 29, 1968.

Slav Rm

The United States continues to support the Greek dictatorship with arms and money, and this is increasing the tension in an already highly volatile area. The Greek rulers have assumed the role of Washington's and NATO's stooges and have endangered the favorable changes that have taken place over the past decade in Soviet-Greek relations. The United States regards Greece as primarily a military springboard in keeping with its aggressive expansionist policies. A U.S.-Greek agreement allows the United States to bring any kind of armaments into the country, set up military bases, and to arbitrarily use Greek territory for military purposes. Increased U.S. aid has made the new Greek rulers bold; they are calling for the erection of a nuclear mine belt within the NATO framework as a "defense zone" against Bulgaria. Such actions are becoming typical of the tyrannical regime and can lead only to more trouble along the Mediterranean littoral.

1752

Weller, Jac. THE TRAGEDY OF THE MIDDLE EAST. In U.S. Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth. Military review, v. 49, June 1968: 56-63. Z6723. U35, v. 48

National and racial tensions are not new to the Middle East and the Balkans, but until well into the 20th century there was little open strife. Under Turkish rule the various nationalities lived together in harmony, if only because they had no alternative, but the collapse of the Turkish Empire cleared the way for struggling national and racial factions to aspire to dominate their enemies. The development of modern communications, the establishment of the United Nations, and the growth of East-West tensions have exacerbated local disputes by raising for all contending parties the possibility of external support and final victory. Paradoxically, because outsiders lend support but at the same time are anxious that local conflicts not get out of hand, outside involvement has prevented local events from taking their course to a definitive (even if military) solution. At present, settlements in the Middle East and the Balkans are impossible and will remain so as long as the central issue dividing the various factions is "exclusive occupancy of the same real estate."

## V. SPECIFIC PROBLEMS AND LIMITED MEASURES

1753

Willoughby, Sir John. PROBLEMS OF COUNTER-INSURGENCY IN THE MIDDLE EAST. In Royal United Service Institution, London. Journal, v. 113, May 1968: 104-111. U1.R8, v. 113

"A lecture given at the R. U. S. I. on 15th November 1967." Discussion included.

Examines the problems of counterinsurgency in the Middle East, particularly in Southern Arabia. Imposing arms control, decentralizing command in urban areas, and the political repercussions involved in decisions to use armed force are major difficulties. With the only remaining British presence in the Middle East in the Persian Gulf, in Bahrain and in Shajah, a danger of insurgency and instability exists in the area.

1754

WORLD STRATEGIC PICTURE [by] S. V. T. Cosandir, the Irish defence journal, v. 28, Mar. 1968: 72-74. illus. U1.C8, v. 28

A synopsis of the Korean War, the negotiations, and of the duties the various commissions entrusted with the task of carrying out the terms of the cease-fire. The author describes the armed forces of South Korea and notes that they are mainly supplied and supported by the United States. He concludes that North Korea might go to war again if the United States retaliates for the seizure of the Pueblo.

## 2. Disengagement, Neutralization, etc.

1755

Brodin, Katarina, Kjell Goldmann, and Christian Lange. THE POLICY OF NEUTRALITY: OFFICIAL DOCTRINES OF FINLAND AND SWEDEN. Cooperation and conflict, no. 1, 1968: 18-51. P&GP RR

A comparative study of the "official neutrality policy doctrines" of Sweden and Finland. The authors stress that they are concerned with official and publicly declared doctrine and not with policy as such or the "real" causes or motives of decisionmakers. They have attempted to extract from a large sampling of official policy statements a coherent and comprehensive picture of how neutrality is conceived and justified by these two governments. The official doctrines consist of statements on the substance of a neutral policy, arguments and reasons thought to prove the policy advantageous, and an image of the outside world that lends credence to these arguments and reasons.

1756

Thompson, W. Scott. NONALIGNMENT IN THE THIRD WORLD: THE RECORD OF GHANA. Orbis, v. 11, winter 1968: 1233-1255. D839.O68, v. 11

Evaluates Ghana's record of nonalignment--its diplomatic contacts, U.N. voting record, and general inclination toward East or West--which is a useful reference point for measuring a state's attitude toward issues that separate the two blocs. Because nonalignment is waning as a factor in international politics, "the consistency and coherence of a nonaligned policy must be credible to all sides if a state is to derive any benefit from such a posture." Thompson notes that since 1964 Ghana has been nonaligned in name only; at

various times it has excluded one side in favor of another. The nonalignment policies of the first generation of leaders of emerging nations may be of only historic interest to their successors.

1757

Verosta, Stephen. [PERMANENT NEUTRALITY; AN OUTLINE] Die dauernde Neutralität; ein Grundriss. Wien. Manzsche Verlags- und Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1967, 143 p. (Erweiterter Sonderdruck des für den Dritten Österreichischen Juristentag erstatteten Gutachtens) JX5363. V43 1967  
Bibliographical footnotes.

Partial contents. --Modern cases of permanent neutrality and their origin. --The law of permanent neutrality. --Appendix.

An expertise prepared for the third Austrian convention of jurists. Verosta considers permanent neutrality an institution of the international law of peace which by definition outlasts all wars. He discusses the duties and obligations of nonneutral nations toward the permanently neutral and the right of the latter to trade with warring states. Permanent neutrality is a privilege based on a decision by the individual state to become permanently neutral as well as on "political compromise between other states, including great powers," in regard to that state. The appendix contains official Swiss and Austrian pronouncements on their neutrality.

## D. OUTER SPACE

1758

Mayhall, Gene, and D. O. Appleton. MILITARY APPLICATIONS OF SPACE ARE INEVITABLE. Data, v. 13, June 1968: 16-19. illus. P&GP RR

"Interview with Major General Sam Phillips," Director of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration's (NASA's) Apollo program.

The United States must exploit the knowledge it is gaining from the peaceful uses of space to further its military offensive and defensive capabilities, because it is only a matter of time before one nation or another begins to apply military technology to operations involving men in space. Although the administration and Congress continue to recognize NASA's chief objective --to put a man on the moon--as an important one, budget cuts in NASA's program have adversely affected some departments. Reduction in personnel has not only reduced morale but has prevented engineers, scientists, and technicians from fully exploiting all of Apollo's capabilities. Even if the Vietnam War is terminated, NASA program reductions over the past 2 years will keep it from ever fully recovering its former position.

## E. VIOLATION OF AGREEMENTS AND RESPONSES

### 1. Violation, Inspection, Verification

1759

Danskin, John M. A HELICOPTER VERSUS SUBMARINE SEARCH GAME. Operations research, v. 16, May/June 1968: 509-517. illus. Q175.O63, v. 16

# ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

How should helicopters use their dipping sonar to search for a submarine submerged and attempting to escape, which had been sighted a short time before? By some approximations to reality and a shift in the point of view the problem is brought to a simple two-person zero-sum game in which one side juggles areas and the other probability distributions. The solutions are exhibited and proved to be solutions by direct application of the definition of optimal strategies for a game. The solution may be understood with very little mathematical knowledge. It turns out that the helicopters should, generally speaking, spiral inward in the relative speed circle. (Abstract supplied, modified)

1760

Fabian, P., W. F. Libby, and C. E. Palmer. STRATOSPHERIC RESIDENCE TIME AND INTERHEMISPHERIC MIXING OF STRONTIUM 90 FROM FALLOUT IN RAIN. *Journal of geophysical research*, v. 73, June 15, 1968: 3811-3816. QC811.J6, v. 73

The Sr-90 fallout as measured in rain by the Health and Safety Laboratory worldwide network gives a stratospheric residence time of 1.6 years, which is in good agreement with the value from the direct measurements of the lower stratosphere by Project Stardust. The interhemispheric mixing time appears to be about 3.3 years. (Abstract supplied)

1761

MacKinnon, R. F. MICROBAROGRAPHIC OSCILLATIONS PRODUCED BY NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS AS RECORDED IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRE. In *Royal Meteorological Society, London, Quarterly journal*, v. 94, Apr. 1968: 166-168. QC851.R8, v. 94

A summary is presented of previously unpublished microbarographic data associated with atmosphere thermonuclear bomb tests in the Marshall Islands and in the Soviet Union from 1954 to 1962. Some effects of winds upon atmospheric pressure waves are indicated through study of wind conditions over the paths of propagation and through comparison with reported Japanese data. It is shown that, as well as the speed of the waves, the maximum amplitudes of wave-trains depend upon wind conditions so that estimates of the size of explosions must take into account prevailing winds. The possible usefulness of microbarograms in the study of upper atmospheric winds is indicated. (Abstract supplied)

1762

Netherlands (Kingdom, 1815- ) Advies commissie inzake Vraagstukken van Ontwapening en Internationale Vrijheid en Vrede. The problem of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and the control of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. 2d interim report. . . (of the) Advisory Committee on Disarmament and International Peace and Security. Unofficial translation. [The Hague? 1967] 28. JX1974.T.N44 1967

Bibliographical footnotes.

Contents. --Introduction. --The need for safeguards against the military use of nuclear energy. --Present safeguards. --The function of safeguards. --Safeguards and a non-proliferation treaty. --Extension and strengthening of present safeguards. --Bilateral and regional safeguards and world-wide safeguards compared. --Special problems connected with the relations between the IAEA and Euratom.

Analyzes the problems involved in international control of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. The committee recommends "unreservedly" that the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom) safeguards system be brought under International Atomic Energy (IAEA) supervision. A regional system could be made more stringent and would be simpler to operate and more acceptable to member states than a global arrangement, but these advantages are more than offset by the fact that a regional system would lack credibility with the states outside the region and would fail to generate that "measure of mutual trust between non-nuclear countries as will eliminate the desire to acquire nuclear weapons." Objections to the IAEA system arising out of fears of industrial espionage or other commercial disadvantages are unfounded. Differences between IAEA and Euratom inspection procedures and requirements would have to be reconciled, but this poses no insurmountable difficulties.

1763

PLUGGING UP ATOMIC FUEL 'LEAKS.' *Business week*, no. 2023, June 8, 1968: 70, 73. HC431.D87, 1968

As the conclusion of a treaty banning the proliferation of nuclear weapons becomes imminent, the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and the U. S. Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) are stepping up their efforts to provide safeguards against the diversion of fissionable materials to military purposes. Both agencies are endeavoring to extend their nuclear reactor inspection systems to include all steps in the fuel cycle, from mine to waste storage area. The plutonium produced as a natural byproduct of reactor operations could be diverted for illegal uses not only at its source but at a number of other facilities along the route it follows, particularly the fuel reprocessing plants. The AEC is currently seeking an appropriate yardstick for detecting leaks in the fuel cycle and along with the IAEA is working on new methods of materials analysis and mechanical techniques for improving monitoring procedures. In addition the two organizations have accelerated their programs for training safeguards inspectors.

1764

Yoshikawa, K., and others. FALLOUT PARTICLES IN THE GROUND-LEVEL AIR FROM THE CHINESE NUCLEAR EXPLOSION OF DECEMBER 28, 1966. *Journal of geophysical research*, v. 73, June 15, 1968: 3637-3641. QC811.J6, v. 73

The daily fluctuation of the concentration of fallout particles in the ground-level air whose diameters ranged from 1 to 30  $\mu$  was observed for a period of about 3 months following the fifth Chinese nuclear explosion of December 28, 1966. It appeared that fallout particles larger than about 10  $\mu$  in diameter fell on the ground mainly by gravitational settling shortly after the explosion, and some smaller particles circulated with the air motion around the globe more than once. It was also found that about 20 days after the explosion the fluctuation of the particle concentration was rather well related to the variation of meteorological situations; the particle concentration decreased during periods of precipitation and increased during periods of high atmospheric pressure. (Abstract supplied)

1765

Zile, Zigurds L., Robert S. Sharlet, and Jean F. Love. LEGAL ASPECTS OF VERIFICATION IN THE SOVIET UNION. Prepared for the U. S. Arms Control and Dis-

## V. SPECIFIC PROBLEMS AND LIMITED MEASURES

armament Agency. [Madison, University of Wisconsin Law School] 1967. 2 v. (ACDA/GC-03)

JX1974.7.25

Bibliographical references listed at the end of each chapter.

Partial contents. --pt. 1. General analysis: The Soviet system; context for arms inspection. Legal problems connected with the presence of an arms inspectorate within Soviet territory. Legal problems directly relevant to the official functions of the arms inspectorate. --pt. 2. Scenarios: Comprehensive nuclear test ban (CTB). Cutoff of production of fissionable material. Freeze on production of strategic nuclear delivery vehicles (SNDV).

Studies the legal aspects of verification arrangements for prospective arms control agreements between the United States and the Soviet Union. Part one attempts to "suggest answers for a range of operational modes between what might be considered a minimum useful agreement and a maximum feasible agreement." Part two consists of three case studies illustrating the questions that might be raised by the application of the general procedures developed in part one to specific arms control situations.

## 2. Enforcement

### F. CONSEQUENCES OF ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT MEASURES

1766

ANOTHER BIG EXPOSURE OF U.S.-SOVIET COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY COLLABORATION. Peking review, v. 11, July 12, 1968: 5-8.

DS701. P42, v. 11

Reprinted from *Jen min jh pao*, July 8, 1968.

RLZ389 J18, 1968

The Soviet revisionists and U.S. imperialists are collaborating in an increasingly open and shameless manner against the revolutionary peoples of the world. Washington's swift affirmative response to Gromyko's suggestion for U.S.-Soviet talks on vital international problems indicates the close cooperation between the two gangs. Following on the heels of their treacherous agreement on the nuclear nonproliferation treaty, the two conspirators are about to enter into a sinister bargain for mutual reductions of strategic weapons. Since the new deal will not impede the use of nuclear stockpiles by the American imperialists and their revisionist flunkys, it is an outrageous fraud. By proposing the reduction, the Soviet renegades have shed their mask of "anti-imperialist pretensions." However, the betrayal by the Soviet revisionist clique will only inspire the peoples of the Soviet Union and of the world to speed up their ultimate victory over reactionism.

1767

Gillmore, John S., John J. Ryan, and William S. Gould. DEFENSE SYSTEMS RESOURCES IN THE CIVIL SECTOR: AN EVOLVING APPROACH. AN UNCERTAIN MARKET. Prepared for the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. [Washington, For sale by the Supt. of Docs., U.S. Govt. Print. Off.] 1967. 201 p. illus. (ACDA/E-103)

HC110. D4G54

Bibliography: p. 165-190.

Contents. --Summary. --Introduction. --Evolution of the systems approach in the defense community: The defense systems approach and its components. The origin of the defense systems approach. The resources for the defense systems approach. --The evolving systems approach in the civil sector: The early experience. --The application of defense systems resources in the civil sector: Future markets--institutional obstacles and imponderables. Future markets--the supply of resources. Future markets--characteristics affecting demand. --Recommendations: Conclusions and recommendations. --Appendices.

Describes the nature and quantity of the systems resources of defense firms and explores the problem of enhancing civil-sector demand for these resources. The study's primary objective was to determine to what extent the civil sector offers an alternative for the use of defense systems resources should there be a large cutback in defense expenditures. The authors conclude that the civil demand for defense systems resources is small and that expanding this demand would be difficult. They point out further that defense systems resources are only a small part of total defense resources, and therefore civil demand for these systems resources would do little to alleviate the problems raised by defense cutbacks. The real gain in the development of a civil systems market would lie in the improved quality of Government administration.

1768

Wieczynski, Joseph L. ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF DISARMAMENT: THE SOVIET VIEW. Russian review, v. 27, July 1968: 275-285.

DKJ. R82, v. 27

Unless there is general and complete disarmament the arms race will destroy the Western economies. Military production not only retards technological progress but decelerates the growth of overall production. As it becomes more sophisticated it causes a decrease in the need for labor, metals, strategic materials, and other elements of production capable of expanding markets. On the other hand disarmament will mean an expansion of domestic markets, labor, and capital resources and will enable capitalist states to reduce taxes and increase the consumer's purchasing power. Disarmament will also facilitate international cooperation and pave the way for the realization of equal rights for all peoples and self-determination for all nations. It can encourage the industrialized nations to institute new foreign aid programs without political and military strings attached. With the liquidation of military expenditures the underdeveloped nations will be able to share in the wealth and manpower of the great powers. Although the ideological struggle between capitalism and communism will continue in a disarmed world, "the peacefulness of this rivalry will now be guaranteed, with the final victory won when all peoples . . . recognize the advantages of the communist system and accept it freely."

### G. OTHER PROBLEMS AND MEASURES

1769

AD HOC COMMITTEE ON PEACEFUL USES OF SEABED. UN monthly chronicle, v. 5, Apr. 1968: 50-51. JX1977 A31534, v. 5

Recounts the proceedings of the first session of the Ad Hoc Committee to Study the Peaceful Uses of the

Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor Beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction. Meeting from March 18 to 27, the members elected H. S. Amerasinghe of Ceylon as chairman and decided to establish a legal working group and a technical and economic working group. Amerasinghe suggested the Secretariat and member states should furnish the working groups with supporting documentation and announced that the Committee as a whole would deal with the political aspects of the problems of conserving deep-sea resources.

1770

AD HOC COMMITTEE ON PEACEFUL USES OF SEA-BED: BEGINS SECOND SESSION, UN monthly chronicle, v. 5, July 1968: 46-49.

JX1977, AIU564, v. 5

Summarizes the proceedings of the second meeting of the U. N. Committee assigned to study the peaceful uses of the seabed and ocean floor beyond the limits of national jurisdiction. Both the U.S. and Soviet representatives suggested establishing priorities for the problems that must be overcome in developing international cooperation regarding the seabed and urged all countries to participate in the further exploration of the deep sea environment. The delegates from India and Malta shared the Soviet concern that the deep seas may be utilized for military purposes and agreed that measures may have to be taken to prevent the arms race from spreading to the ocean floor. The Committee's Legal Working Group and the Economic and Technical Working Group met for the first time on June 18.

1771

Banks, Michael H., A. J. R. Groom, and A. N. Oppenheim. GAMING AND SIMULATION IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, Political studies, v. 16, Feb. 1968: 1-17. JAL 863, v. 16  
Includes summary.

Points out that the crisis game promises "systematic formulation of propositions about the behaviour of decisionmakers under crisis, which may then throw some light on the processes by which foreign policy is made."

1772

Devillers, Phillip. "ARE THE MILITARY 'CREDIBLE'?" New university thought, v. 6, May/June 1968: 2-15. DE39, N484, v. 6

Warns against the increasing control of the military establishment over democratic societies in the West. Using case studies drawn from French and American experience in Korea and Vietnam, Devillers attempts to prove that military leaders are becoming increasingly successful in imposing their will on civilian executives and that they have neither the experience, training, nor intellectual qualities to act as advisers to political leaders. In his view the outstanding characteristic of military advisers is a "quite permanent ignorance of political implications of the decisions they urge." Devillers concludes that the gravest threat to Western security and world peace today is neither Russian nor Chinese communism but rather the growing influence of the politically inexperienced military man, and that the "containment" of this influence is the main problem of our time.

1773

Hurley, Neil P. USING MOTION PICTURES TO AID INTER-CULTURAL COMMUNICATION, Journal of communication, v. 18, June 1968: 97-108. P37, J6, v. 18

Assesses the effectiveness of films in intercultural communication. Hurley's experience with the use of films to teach religion and social science in the United States and Chile leads him to conclude that film is a "worldwide language which can unite men in the depths of their being across all known barriers of sex, race, class, nation, politics, and religion," and a powerful "formative and informative instrument for creating the bases of community."

1774

[IS THE EAST STILL A BLOC?] Ist der Osten noch ein Block? Hrsg. von Richard Löwenthal. [Originalausg. im Auftrag der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Osteuropakunde] Stuttgart, Kohlhammer [1967] 216 p. (Geschichte und Gegenwart)

DR48, 5, 172

Papers presented at a meeting held by the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Osteuropakunde, Oct. 3-15, 1968, in Heidelberg.

Includes bibliographies.

Contents. --Introduction, by Richard Löwenthal. --pt. 1. Political and military development: From Stalin's empire to hegemonic alliance, by Boris Meissner. Reform tendencies and military development within the Warsaw Pact, by Curt Gasteyger. Tensions between the power apparatus and the intellectual elite and their repercussions on relations between the Eastern bloc states, by Bogdan A. Osadczuk-Korab. --pt. 2. Economic-reform tendencies: Progress and limits of cooperation within the Council for Mutual Economic Aid, by Werner Gumpel. The Eastern bloc states' economic reforms in theory and practice, by Gert Leptin. --pt. 3. Ideology and cultural policy: Integration and differentiation in the Eastern bloc educational system as shown by the general education schools in the Soviet Union, Poland, and the Soviet zone of Germany, by Siegfried Baske. Resurrection of the concept of national history in Czechoslovakia, by Eugen Lemberg. --pt. 4. The law: Legal reforms in the Eastern bloc, by Georg Brunner. Constitutional law reforms of the Eastern and central European people's democracies, by Lothar Schultz.

Emphasizes the growing polarization of centrifugal and cohesive forces within the Soviet bloc.

1775

Mueller, Marti. OCEANOGRAPHY: WHO WILL CONTROL COBB SEAMOUNT? Science, v. 161, July 19, 1968: 252-253. illus. Q1535, v. 161

A consortium composed of the University of Washington, Honeywell, Inc., Battelle Memorial Institute, and the Oceanic Foundation of Hawaii is promoting an oceanographic research project directed at establishing U. S. jurisdiction over Cobb Seamount, a submerged extinct volcano located 270 miles west of the State of Washington that rises to within 112 feet of the surface. Although a number of Defense representatives personally support the project and stress the strategic importance of deep sea formations close to its shores, officially Washington

## V. SPECIFIC PROBLEMS AND LIMITED MEASURES

ton advocates an "open occupancy" policy for the deep sea environment. The U.S. Government is involved in organizing a 10-year international ocean exploration project and supports U.N. efforts to prevent a race for ocean territory. Despite the controversy over Government ownership of Cobb Seamount, the consortium is planning to initiate its "Project Sea Use" in the summer of 1969 and is presently engaged in seeking funds for the \$2 million project.

1776

Shay, Theodore L. NONALIGNMENT SI, NEUTRALISM  
NO. Review of politics, v. 30, Apr. 1968: 228-245.  
JAL R4, v. 30

Classifies the cold war foreign policies of 50 non-aligned members of the United Nations on the basis of a statistical analysis of the voting pattern of each state on cold war issues brought before the General Assembly. The foreign policies of these states fall into one of four categories: negative nonalignment (abstention on most cold war issues), Western-oriented nonalignment, Soviet-oriented nonalignment, and equidistant nonalignment (distribution of votes about equally between East and West). Shay finds that the chief spokesmen for neutralism are almost all in the Soviet-oriented category but also that the policy itself is declining in importance. Evidence of a great diversity of views on cold war issues among nonaligned states leads him to conclude that generalizations about the behavior of states in the Third World are of little value.

1777

Stoddart, David R. ISOLATED ISLAND COMMUNITIES.  
Science journal, v. 4, Apr. 1968: 32-38. illus.  
Q1.S57, v. 4

Throughout the centuries man has altered the natural ecology of most all oceanic islands. Since in their unspoiled state these islands offer invaluable opportunities for scientific studies of evolution and complex environmental relationships, "it is imperative that the few undisturbed islands be preserved." Because island biotas are small and because new forms have evolved without competition, island ecosystems are often highly unstable and susceptible to invading aliens. The European explorers were the first to deliberately modify them by the introduction of plants and animals. Early mining and farming operations on the islands resulted in the disappearance of many unique plants and animals. However, changes were relatively slow until the islands began to serve as civilian and military air bases, testing grounds for nuclear weapons and ballistic missiles, and stations for satellite tracking networks. The effects of disturbances on the island ecosystems are generally irreversible and unpredictable. While ad hoc conservation proposals have been made in response to new development projects, no long-range plans have been enacted for the scientific preservation of any of the tropical volcanic islands, coral atolls, or high limestone islands. International measures similar to those provided by the 1964 Agreed Measures for the Conservation of Antarctic Fauna and Flora could contribute to the conservation of plants and animals on the islands in lower latitudes.

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